Washington Menaces Latin America — *By Joseph Starobin*

# NEW MASSES

*FIFTEEN CENTS*

*June 18, 1940*

## Wall Street Must Not Decide!

*An Editorial*

## Henry E. Sigerist

*Where Is That Health Program?*

## Ruth McKenney

*Science Was Different at Alma Mater*

JOSEPH NORTH, ISIDOR SCHNEIDER, A. B. MAGIL, RALPH ELLISON

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LAST Wednesday our printer called us in to announce that owing to "unsettled conditions" he could not accord NEW MASSES its usual summer credit. He was afraid, he said, the government "might close your magazine up" because of the war. As a result, where formerly he had extended $3,000 additional credit during the summer slump period, he could "not afford to do so" this year.

That places NEW MASSES in a critical position. Two weeks ago we had closed our financial drive even though we were $8,000 short of the goal set —$25,000. We had estimated that by loans, by extraordinary measures, we could weather the summer months until the autumn, when income rises again.

The printer's action, however, tips the balance against us. It is an additional burden—one we had not counted on. That is why the hairline schedule we had worked out to survive the usual June, July, and August slump is knocked askew.

We had budgeted every penny, figured on payless weeks, had decided to use less cartoons, to cut out every telegram, to cut down on our telephone calls. The entire staff was with us, ready to accept every hardship to bring the magazine out.

We know there is no way, none whatsoever, to survive except through your aid. We must sound the warning. Your magazine may be forced to suspend, to cease firing at a moment when the dogs of war are baying in the streets—when every progressive, every American, every inhabitant of this country needs this anti-war organ more than ever before.

We have faced bad moments before. But this is the worst; to face the danger of suspending operations at the very instant when every ounce of strength must be put into the fight to keep America out of this war.

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Every voice for peace counts, every blow counts. Every issue we put out now means direction to thousands who seek the truth, who want to hand it on to everybody they can reach.

The means of expression are closing up. The totalitarianism of the war drive has cast its darkness across the country. Truth is kept from the people. We know that at such a time a publication like NEW MASSES is invaluable.

Yet it may die, will die unless you stand up for it. If it closes, the loss will be incalculable.

We put the issue before you. There is nobody else to whom we can appeal.

Shall NEW MASSES die today?

Or shall it live to help you defeat the warmakers? Shall it survive to prevent America from plunging into the abyss?

The answer is up to you.

*The Editors.*

NEW MASSES, 461 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK CITY
Enclosed is my contribution toward NEW MASSES' next issues and toward the magazine's continued existence.

Name.....

Address.....

.....

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6-18-40

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# Between Ourselves

YOUR editors took a full two hours' vacation last week. The occasion was a party in honor of the authors whose books appear on International Publishers' spring list. Unlike most literary "teas" we've attended, the talk was more important than the drinks (though we won't kid you into believing that these were missing). It was a reunion of old and good friends. Meridel LeSueur was down from Minneapolis. She told us that people in the Middle West hate this war about as much as we do. Her stories, proudly featured in NM for years, have just been issued by International in a collection called *Salute to Spring.* Anna Rochester, whose fine articles on the farmers you've been reading, was busy shaking hands with many admirers of her new book, *Why Farmers Are Poor.* Bruce Minton and John Stuart, co-authors of *The Fat Years and the Lean,* dipped into the punch bowl in between remarks on the sad state of American historiography. Earl Browder, whose book *The Second Imperialist War* has already become a best seller, confessed that he wasn't sure he had made a good radio address at Madison Square Garden until he got home and sounded out his three youngsters on the speech. They are his severest critics.

It was a gay and stimulating party. Alexander Trachtenberg of International Publishers told us that he was proud to proxy for the one author on his spring list not physically present at the party: Friedrich Engels *(Dialectics of Nature).* Alex was exceedingly proud of his authors and his authors were delighted with the generous reception he had arranged for them. We wish we could give you all the names of those present, but that would take half a dozen of these columns.

Several weeks ago we told you that NM cartoonists were known the world over. Last week we discovered that the Sino-Foreign Cultural Exchange Service in Hong Kong had written a complimentary note to Mischa Richter, whose work appears in NM regularly. Mischa was all too modest about it but we finally managed to see the letter. Here is what his admirers wrote: "Since the outbreak of Sino-Japanese hostilities many of the Chinese artists have participated in our life-and-death struggle, playing quite an important role in our campaign of resistance. They have organized their groups and associations in rear and front lines for carrying out their propaganda work. Hence a large number of posters, cartoons, woodcuts, wall pictures, etc., have been produced.

"However, in the midst of their work, they have come to find they are in want of essential materials for their work. Having seen your work appearing in NM, they express great admiration for it. Indeed your work has profound influence upon the Chinese artists. At the same time it may be mentioned here that they, as well as the Chinese public, have to thank you very much for your sympathy for China's cause and the progressive ideas which are so prominently manifested in your cartoons." The letter is dated May 10 and signed by Fulsea Wang, secretary of the service organization.

The summer season is about to go into high gear, and as you pile into the family jalopy, don't fail to stop at the next postbox and drop us a card, telling us where to send NM. And that reminds us—if you're going campward, you will not only be able to read the NM weekly, but you will also be able to meet members of our speakers' corps face to face. We have already made arrangements for Sunday morning talks at Camp Unity, Hilltop Lodge, Chester's Zunbarg, Green Mansions, Camp Lakeland, and several other resorts in the green hinterland. NM speakers will discuss such varied subjects as war, literature, politics, the movies, the theater, military tactics, the press, music, art.

Soriano

Dr. Henry E. Sigerist

*Dr. Sigerist, who heads the Johns Hopkins Institute of the History of Medicine, is famous for both his professional talents and his efforts to extend medical aid to those who cannot pay for it. A Swiss by birth, he came to the United States many years ago and acquainted himself with the history, economics, and culture of America, before settling down to his present position at Johns Hopkins. He has taught medical history at the University of Leipzig and lectured at many universities in this country and abroad. It was natural that Dr. Sigerist, with his interest in medicine as a social factor as well as a science, should have become interested in the medical system of the USSR. The results of his study in this field are contained in a book published in 1938, "Socialized Medicine in the Soviet Union."*

## *Who's Who*

JOSEPH STAROBIN is an editorial writer on NM, specializing in foreign affairs. . . . Harold Preece is a Chicago labor journalist. . . . Frank J. Wallace has contributed to magazines on export-import problems. . . . Isidor Schneider is former literary editor of NM and author of *From the Kingdom of Necessity.* . . . Herbert Aptheker is author of *The Negro in the Civil War* and *Negro Slave Revolts in the United States.* . . . David McKelvy White was formerly chairman of the Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Battalion. For nine months in 1937 he served as machine gunner in the Spanish Republican Army. . . . Ralph Ellison, who has written articles and reviews for NM before, is a young Negro writer.

## *Flashbacks*

MEMO for those who are luxuriating in panic because of Hitler's recent successes: On June 16, 1935, two great Chinese Red Armies met in Szechwan, bringing to a successful conclusion a brilliant strategic maneuver. These people's troops reminded the world that fascist generals have no monopoly on military skill. . . . "War does not come by chance. . . . There is a definite cause for war, especially a modern war. . . . The war that began in Europe can readily be accounted for. . . . The master class has always brought a war and the subject class fought the battle. The master class has had all to gain and nothing to lose, and the subject class has had all to lose and nothing to gain." For saying these and similar things about World War I before the Socialist Convention of Ohio at Canton, June 16, 1918, Eugene V. Debs was later sentenced to ten years in prison. . . . And a memo for those who aren't satisfied to let God save the King: The Battle of Bunker Hill, the first serious battle of the War of Independence, was fought June 17, 1775. . . . Congress declared war on Great Britain June 18, 1812.

# This Week

NEW MASSES, VOL. XXXV, NO. 13

*June 18, 1940*

Wall Street Must Not Decide *An Editorial Article* . . 5
Gropper's Cartoon . . . . . 6
The People, Yes *by Joseph North* . . . . . 7
Washington Menaces Latin America *by Joseph Starobin* . 9
Room 2212: Washington's Quietest Spot *by A. B. Magil* 10
Science Was Different at Alma Mater *by Ruth McKenney* 12
What Happened to the Health Program? *by Henry E. Sigerist* . . . . . 14
Mob Law in the Midwest *by Harold Preece* . . . . . 17
How Hitler's Armored Troops Work *by Gerald Griffin, Jr.* 18
Credits That Lead to War *by Frank J. Wallace* . . . 19
Editorial Comment . . . . . 21

REVIEW AND COMMENT

Waldo Frank's Little Chart *by Isidor Schneider* . . . 24
Reconstruction *by Herbert Aptheker* . . . . . 26
The Case of Del Vayo *by David McK. White* . . . . 27
Anti-War Novel *by Ralph Ellison* . . . . . 29

SIGHTS AND SOUNDS

Muggsy Spanier, Jazzman *by James Dugan* . . . . . 31

Art work by Soriano, Chester, Mischa Richter, LaMendola, Clinton, Aime.

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20

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NEW MASSES

VOLUME XXXV JUNE 18, 1940 NUMBER 13

# Wall Street Must Not Decide

## Will the US follow Italy? What Roosevelt failed to tell University of Virginia students. The decision is still up to the people. An editorial article.

ITALY has taken the plunge—will the United States be next? This is no rhetorical question. It is the grim reality haunting the minds of millions. It is the nightmare of America's mothers and sons.

We live under the shadow of a great fear. For eight months the 45,000,000 people of Italy lived under that shadow too. For eight months Italy was not neutral, but non-belligerent, that is, preparing to become belligerent. Now the frail cord binding the 45,000,000 to the world of peace has at last been cut and they have been plunged into the fiery pit. Again we ask: *will the United States be next?*

For the policy of the United States in relation to the Allies has run parallel to the policy of Italy in relation to Germany. During these same eight months the Roosevelt administration, at first hypocritically professing neutrality, has actually been pursuing a policy of non-belligerent aid to the Allies as a transition to entering the war. In these eight months the cord binding us to our own precious peace has been frayed and weakened until we too are in imminent peril of plunging to destruction. Shall we leave the answer to that terrible question to President Roosevelt? Shall we leave it to Wall Street's favorite sons, US Steel's Stettinius and General Motors' Knudsen, who are today his two closest advisers?

### CAJOLING THE YOUTH

In his address to the students of the University of Virginia only a few hours after Mussolini struck, the President voiced not the faintest wish to keep the United States out of war. On the contrary, he pledged full steam ahead in pursuing the course which led Italy into war and brought our own land to the brink. He did not dare tell the young people of the University of Virginia the real reason why twenty-two years after the war to end wars the youth of Europe are again being compelled to shed their blood. He did not tell them that this was a thieves' quarrel over oil and rubber and coal and iron and wheat and other such loot. He did not tell them the crimes of both sides in this imperialist conflict—the crimes of a vile, corrupt, and murderous capitalist order. No, the President spoke of democracy and freedom, words that are very real and precious to the young people of our land. He cajoled them with glamorous sonorities; he painted fair all that is so unspeakably foul. He even dragged into this mire of distortion the grand traditions of the American Revolution and the Civil War; he urged America's youth to forget their own needs, their own hunger for life, and to follow the example of the patriots of the past in sacrificing for the country's good. Does a scarecrow resemble a man? In the same way does this reactionary, gangster war resemble the great liberating wars of 1776 and 1861—the wars that really gave some semblance of a future to millions of our youth.

President Roosevelt's speech was designed to prepare the young men of our country emotionally for something else he failed to mention: peacetime conscription. An ominous word, conscription. To the average American it smacks of old world militarism with all its oppressive concomitants. On June 7 the New York *Times* published an editorial urging peacetime conscription. The same day the President told his press conference that he had liked that part of the proposal which he had read. A conscription bill is now being prepared for introduction in Congress. The propaganda blast has begun. M-Day is almost here. For the first time in the history of the United States our youth—if big business and the administration have their way—will be impressed into military service in time of peace. In at least one state, New Jersey, the relief authorities, in flagrant violation of the law, have already begun to drive the unemployed into the army. State Relief Director Arthur Mudd has ruled that unattached men and unmarried men in relief families must enlist or be cut off the rolls. These men are being forced to defend the very system which has condemned them to hunger.

This fight-or-starve decree is an augury of the future. The conscription drive, like the preparedness drive, is but the prelude to active warfare on a scale unsuspected by the American public. It is timed with President Roosevelt's request for authority to mobilize the National Guard without consulting Congress. It is timed with the inspired counterpoint about Nazi activities in Latin America. Raymond Clapper, a strong supporter of the Roosevelt administration, has let down imperialism's hair in a series of articles in the Scripps-Howard press. He calls for a Greater Hemisphere America—not too faintly reminiscent of Greater Germany—under the domination of Washington, the replacement of the good neighbor policy with "the strong neighbor policy," and intimates that it may be necessary to use troops for "protective occupation" of certain slices of land south of the Rio Grande. Here, under our very noses, is that naked, aggressive imperialism which Roosevelt professes to oppose in Europe.

Nor did the President mention in his speech another of those short-of-war steps that are proving a short cut to war: the sale to the Allies of guns and planes belonging to the army and navy in violation of American and international law. This in other days would be called an act of war. Today it is done without even consulting Congress—in fact, in disregard of what appears to be the plain will of Congress. For the Senate Foreign Relations Committee has twice overwhelmingly—by votes of nineteen to one and nineteen to two—rejected a proposal of Senator Pepper that army and navy equipment be turned over to the Allies. Of course the present scheme is supposed to be a trade-in of "obsolete" material—a palpable fraud since the material is being sent for use against Germany. And in the course of this deal a subsidiary of US Steel is being given $200,000,000 of munitions for about $50,000,000. Nice work, Mr. Stettinius. (Who was it said there would be no war millionaires?)

### OUR ROAD TO PEACE

The President is attempting to panic the American people into surrendering their liberties and their peace. He is telling us that unless we save the British and French empires, we are doomed to become a tiny island stretching a mere three thousand miles from ocean to ocean and fifteen hundred miles from north to south, cut off from the rest of the world. But we are not cut off from the forces of peace. We are not cut off from one great country whose territory is greater than all the rest of Europe. The Soviet Union, despite its proximity to the war, is able to maintain its neutrality because it pursues a genuine policy of peace. If instead of trying to arrange a Mediterranean Munich with Mussolini, as the President admitted he did, and instead of seeking a Far Eastern Munich with Japan, which the President has not yet admitted, he collaborated with the USSR to limit the war and bring it to a speedy end, that terrible fear would not be gnawing at the hearts of the American people today.

The defense of democracy begins at home. Here lies the future of America's youth. The legions of the people must speak, must act. Let the voices that say the Yanks are not coming ring out in tens of millions. Let them reach into Congress. Wall Street decrees war, but ours is the decision—still ours.

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# The People, Yes

## The Communist Party that met in convention several days ago was "confident of ultimate success." Joseph North tells why and describes some of its men, some of its ideas.

**Who shall speak for the people?**
**Who knows the works from A to Z**
**so he can say, "I know what the people want"?**
*Carl Sandburg, "The People, Yes."*

IN times of crisis parties, like men, come to judgment. At the grass roots of the nation the people are arriving at great decisions. They will remember which party, which men stood firm when the test came—and they will remember the Communists. For of all the former New Deal coalition, it appears today that the Communists alone stand by the New Deal promise: peace, security, liberty. The Eleventh National Convention of their party was epic; those fortunate enough to have attended the sessions sensed the great achievement, the magnificent promise.

The people, heartsick with apprehension, grope toward decision. And Sandburg's question, "Who shall speak for the people?" assumes hemispheric proportions as imperial America grasps the opportunity today to stretch from Broad and Wall streets to Tierra del Fuego. A Mexican fraternal delegate at the Communist convention told me, "Here, right here, camarada, this is the capital of the Western world today." No canny political historian listening to the delegates, analyzing their reports, sensitive to the proletarian elan, would quickly dismiss the Mexican's comment. Something big was happening in this rickety 1890 ballroom, something akin to the conferrings of the people before 1789. Economic crisis, the slaughter of the war, had brought inevitable questionings. "For the masses, the economic laws of capitalism are not so sacred as they were formerly," said Earl Browder. "If these economic laws of capitalism are preventing the workers and farmers from solving their problems, then has the time not come to go beyond those economic laws and begin to find some new laws?"

### DEATH OF THE NEW DEAL

In the drive toward war the New Deal had been killed. Browder put it this way: "The New Deal chapter of progressive social legislation, always fragmentary and lacking consistency, has now definitely closed." It closed with the clatter of plowshares beaten into swords; it ended with the shouts of drunken hoodlums seeking "fifth-columnists" in every union hall. The man of the Fireside Chat had turned incendiary. A few weeks before he had libeled those who were meeting in New York at the Royal Windsor, sought to whip up a hysteria against them. Against whom? Who were these folk, where did they come from? What did they want? What is this party of 100,000 in a nation of 130,000,000 that draws lightning from on high? Why do turncoat labor leaders break gavels every time a member of that party rises to speak? Were they "foreign agents," alien to America? The headlines press the question on the people, but they, in greater numbers than ever before, draw their own conclusions. They have learned much this past decade. American workingmen have encountered these delegates and their constituents. They have met men like Roy Hudson in the union halls; they have struck with men like Ben Gold; they have heeded Bob Minor's words on Spain; they have listened to Elizabeth Gurley Flynn when the Irish martyrs were hanged; they have gone to jail with Israel Amter in the great 1930 jobless demonstrations. They know the name Earl Browder and they understand there is far more to the question of his four-year conviction than flimsy passport regulations.

They have met the Communist rank and filer in the AFL and CIO union halls. Like as not he is a family man like them, a man who takes in a movie or a prizefight, who knows as well as they the standing of the teams in both major leagues. But much more than that—these Communists know the standing of America in the serious game of politics.

These delegates belong to a party unique in America, yet implicit in the folk, indigenous as Wichita, Kan., Browder's birthplace. Their ideas are as native as those of Thomas Jefferson, their vision as American as Walt Whitman's. But these Communists do not halt at borders any more than does radio, telegraph, or airplane. Their heritage is international. Did that make them foreign agents, as Mark Sullivan charged during the convention when he demanded that their spokesman, Browder, be kept off the air? Mr. Sullivan had read the constitution of the Communist Party mailed him during the convention. He discovered that Article V called for an "international solidarity fund . . . to aid our brother Communist Parties in other countries." Browder retorted that the cry "foreign agent" hadn't even the merit of originality. It had been flung at Thomas Jefferson because he championed the French Revolution. "If it goes down," Jefferson had said, "we go down. Everything that is good in the world goes down; if it succeeds we succeed as humanity goes forward a new step." What Jefferson felt about the French Revolution the Communists today feel about the Socialist Revolution embodied in the Soviet Union. The ideals of the French Revolution, "liberty, equality, fraternity," are today enshrined in the Soviet constitution—not in the totalitarianism of Premier Reynaud.

It is noteworthy too that the diligent Mr. Sullivan, zealous disseminator of the term "Communazi," expediently failed to mention that $18,000 had recently been sent to the brother Communist Party of Germany to carry on its underground work against Adolf Hitler.

### POWER FOR WHOM?

Who were the men and women at the Royal Windsor? Who was Ray Hansborough, of Chicago, Gil Green of New York, Mac Weiss, youth leader, Ella Reeve Bloor, seventy-four-year-old veteran who stood there on the platform leading the singing of the "Star Spangled Banner" and the "Internationale"? Who were they? What made them tick? Westbrook Pegler recently wrote, "The Communists are not in this for money. Power is what they want." Indeed, and what are political parties in it for anyway? Men band together in parties because they seek power, because ideas are fruitless unless they are seized by the millions and transformed into reality. The question is not that they seek power, but power for whom? The Communists at the Royal Windsor sought power for the working class and its middle class allies, for the common people of the country—and of the world. They sought power to ensure peace, democracy, security. They did not seek power for the party, per se. They sought it for the millions. For these are the people who labored diligently to build the trade union movement, whose work and effort had helped build the labor organizations of the land. (There stands William Z. Foster of the 1919 steel strike, who spent a year in Welfare Island for leading the jobless in 1930, whose name is anathema to United States Steel.) This is the party that lost one thousand of its best youths in the war to save Spanish democracy. (There stands Johnny Gates, twenty-four-year-old lieutenant colonel of the 15th Brigade in Spain.)

This is the party of the working class. Its members are folk with those qualities Browder said all Communists must possess to carry through successfully the tasks history requires of them: "modesty, patience, persistence, endurance, enthusiasm, self-sacrifice, heroism." They had banded into a party unique in American political life, a party whose strategy is based upon a scientific program, upon the tenets of Marxism. It is a young party, still on the upgrade, one with great experience but with the acumen to realize it has more to learn. It possesses that rarest of all political qualities, self-criticism. "We must always remember," Browder had said, "that our party is not fully the master, but is only in the process of mastering the theoretical inheritance which is the source of our power, the

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teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin."

I looked about the hall at the young, forceful faces. I listened to the reports, talked to the delegates. It happens that I have covered every Communist national convention since 1932, save that of 1938 when I was in Spain. I was struck by the "bolshevization" of this party. Dread word that, bolshevization. The journalistic servitors of Wall Street have endowed it with sinister meaning. Actually it connotes the maturing of a Communist Party, its coming of age. It means it has gained experience, struck deep roots in the working class, drawn from the personnel and life of the proletariat for its experience, grown monolithic in its organization and its goals.

The outbreak of war had been a decisive test of its maturity. It had stood its ground, stood firm, was in fact stronger than before. Half a year ago the press, the Social Democratic enemies of the people, the renegades had shattered the air with their claims that the Communist Party was dying. It was "committing suicide." Those who knew the party smiled at this wishful thinking of its enemies. The delegates' convention reports here proved the party was growing, was stronger, had struck deep into the soil of America.

Take that sure index of a party's health—dues payments. These were up. New members were seeking admission. William Schneiderman, Communist leader in California, reported that his state alone had signed up two hundred new members in April; ninety had joined since the first week in May.

Consider the distribution of the party's literature, another sure index of life, activity. Three and one half million pamphlets outlining the Communist position on the war had been sold since last August. Nine million copies of all pamphlets had been sold since 1938! No other party in America could equal this achievement, this self-sacrificing, laborious effort of the membership — the immortal Jimmy Higgins multiplied by many thousands. None considered this work humdrum; it brought the message of hope, brought direction, to millions. The membership was proud of standing on street corners, of ringing doorbells, of every minute detail of work in combating the great lie of capitalism.

And the Jimmy Higginses did more than distribute literature. They made it. Delegates reported they had published eighty-two community newspapers in every major city in the country in 1938. The figure rose to 169 in 1939. Those publications reflected the neighborhood needs of the people—their desire for better housing, the elimination of municipal graft, improved schooling. The Communists were not concerned solely with national and international politics—ward and precinct politics weren't too small to engage their effort.

The Communists have made gains among the American people. Here is a significant instance: the delegates reported an increase of over 200 percent in votes for their candidates since 1936. Despite the abrogation of the Bill of Rights in many communities the party put an unprecedented number of candidates on the ballot. Witness its success in West Virginia alone, where it collected eight thousand signatures. Guy Thorp, veteran of the Spanish war, brought 1,400 in alone. Donald Breville, a Southern youth, 2,016. Ohio, for example, aimed at sixty thousand signatures to put the party on the ballot; thus far, from fifteen thousand to twenty thousand are in.

Consider too the tasks the delegates set themselves. They decided unanimously to raise a $250,000 election campaign fund for coast to coast broadcasts, traveling expenses, literature, and their beloved *Daily Worker*. A quarter million dollars to be raised by this party of the poor. And they have shown they can do it. The support of the widening sections of the proletariat was theirs. The financial report indicated that the party had sent a total of $110,623 to fellow parties of other countries since their previous convention. Here you found the answer to Dies' phony question, "Where do they get the money?" They get it from America, from the most self-sacrificing individuals in the country, the workingmen and their closest allies.

The party took note of some losses. "Deserters can be counted in the dozens, and they were of the type we are well rid of—dry leaves only waiting for the first stiff breeze to blow them away," Browder put it.

Indeed the party had stood its ground against all attacks—from the rabid congressman from Texas, from the turncoat liberals, from all reactionaries. Indeed here was a party of the great American working class. It did not as yet embrace the decisive sections, the majority of the proletariat, but it was on its way. "We do not mean to say we have won the whole class," Browder said in his keynote report, "nor its majority to our support. No, only the first beginnings have been well begun in this great task. We must always have this goal clearly before us, must be conscious of the big gap between our present position and the goal. . . ."

Armed with the party's theory, steeled by its experiences, deriving strength from the American people and the working class movement, one can understand why Browder said: "We can march forward into the storms ahead fully confident of the final outcome."

How does it march today, at this juncture of the great battle? What is its goal, its strategy? In essence the party's program for the immediate present is to weld a unity of action under labor's leadership, among all opponents of the imperialist war, among all those desirous of maintaining the standard of life, to safeguard the Bill of Rights.

The draft election program is divided into the following general categories. Space does not permit their elaboration, and the full program will shortly be published in the millions. First and foremost it cries: *Keep America out of the imperialist war. Halt the war preparation and imperialist adventures of Wall Street and the government.* Since a government headed for war wars first upon its own people, its second plank demands: *Jobs, security, and an American standard of living for all toilers. Protect the farmers from Wall Street. Curb the monopolies.* Its third: *Protect and extend civil liberties. Full rights for the Negro people.* Fourth: *Protect the rights and interests of the American youth.*

The election program is immediate. It represents the interests of the American people. It is a program already proclaimed and supported by the progressive organizations of labor, the farmers, youth, women, and the Negro people. It corresponds to the current most pressing needs of the people. These demands are a people's program, principles embodied in the New Deal program of 1935-38, "although the Roosevelt administration was always halfhearted and incomplete in their application." These principles are not socialism, merely "the minimum progressive policy" which would halt the decline and decay of national economy and which is possible within the limits of the existing capitalist system.

To win these demands the Communists urge the independent political action of labor, farmers, and the common people generally. These are great times and they require a great effort, a great deed. The times call for a new party, a third party, such as the pre-Civil War crisis required when Abraham Lincoln's Republican Party was born. "The masses of the United States," Browder declared, "cry out for such a new party, for a modern Abraham Lincoln, as the only road toward the solution of the crisis of today, the crisis of the breakdown of capitalism, the crisis of imperialist war which threatens destruction to the world."

But reaction will battle bitterly against these planks; it feels that concessions to them would violate the economic laws of capitalism. And the folk of America will therefore come to new conclusions. They will consider that the profit motive is archaic, outworn. And thus America will come to the edge of socialism.

Said Browder, in perhaps the most trenchant section of his report,

> The enemies of the people, who are the enemies of our party, labor under the strategical disadvantage, which will be ultimately fatal, that every blow they deliver against the people, every blow against the Communist Party, serves to drive home the basic truths which the Communists have been untiringly expounding. . . . The masses, the people, are immortal: therefore, our teaching, once it is rooted and growing among the masses, is indestructible even by the most frantic rage of the ruling classes. The calm certainty of ultimate victory arms our party for every difficulty and every battle.

In brief, this is the program and this the personnel of the Communists of 1940. I feel it answers the last verse of Carl Sandburg's magnificent poem, *The People, Yes:*

> In the darkness with a great bundle of grief
> the people march.
> In the night, and overhead a shovel of stars for
> keeps,
> the people march:
> "Where to? what next?"

JOSEPH NORTH.

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# Washington Menaces Latin America

## Roosevelt organizes a Fifth Column to operate below the Rio Grande. "Imperialismo yanqui" brings up the cannon to help the traders.

THERE is a great deal of talk about "our hemisphere responsibility." Mr. Raymond Clapper, syndicating in the Scripps-Howard press, calls for a "third American Revolution" in which all the countries of the western hemisphere will form some new federation taking their cues from the United States, the most powerful industrial and military power among them. After all these years newspapers have discovered a South American "fifth column." It appears that several million emigrants from Italy live in Argentina, and the same goes for emigrants from Germany who live in Brazil. This is so very objectionable that several million sons of immigrants to the United States are being asked to march all over South America telling people there to go back where they came from.

Take a big country like Brazil, bigger than the United States. An American cruiser, the USS *Quincy*, has been sent down there, and Washington is planning naval and air bases on Brazilian soil, garrisoned by American troops. Yet it has not occurred to the Brazilians to send a cruiser to Cape Hatteras or quarter their troops in Michigan or Maine. We never hear of Cubans viewing with alarm Mr. Roosevelt's intimate sentiments toward Britain and France, not to mention the developing romance with that picturesque and spotless democracy known as Japan.

### FOREIGN OWNERSHIP

Yes, many South Americans of German, Italian, and Spanish stock have investments in factories, ranches, steamship lines, and airways. Some of these people play an active part in the national life; others are just as standoffish as the Mennonites. Yet it is also true that many American citizens, not all of them direct descendants of Priscilla Dean, also own factories, ranches, plantations, and steamship lines below the Rio Grande. In fact they own far more than do the nationals of any other country. And very few of them take the trouble to live in the countries from which their dividends flow. Swift and Armour own a preponderance of the Argentine beef industry. Henry Ford operates vast rubber developments in Brazil. The Guggenheims control Chilean copper. Lehman Bros., a banking house with ramifications in the New York State "public servant" industry, controls the Patino tin mines in Bolivia. Many an American bank balance is weighted with the profits from Cuban *haciendas* and Costa Rican banana plantations. Only a few weeks ago the sovereign government of Mexico agreed to pay the Sinclair interests some $8,500,000 for the privilege of pumping oil that flows under Mexican soil. General Juan Almazan is now preparing an uprising in Mexico, expected in mid-July. He is smuggling arms through ranches along the border, owned by Americans, among them a certain W. R. Hearst.

On the one hand, the current exaltation about hemisphere responsibility is strictly bamboozle. We Americans are supposed to be Big Brothers, so we are told, or at least Boy Scouts, without whose helping hand the rest of the hemisphere cannot get across the busy street. This enables the administration to put over its preparedness program, preparations for an assault upon Germany in Europe. It also greases every scheme for getting American troops into key positions in the hemisphere; the army desires to give the boys a workout over here before they get shipped abroad.

But the major purpose of the hemisphere ballyhoo is to facilitate the displacement by American businessmen of the trade and economic advantages which other interests have secured over many years. The fact is that German trade has fallen off since September; German currency schemes proved very disadvantageous to their customers, and the British blockade did the rest. The main offensive, however, is taking place against our valiant cousins, the British—themselves desperately in need of export markets and anxious to cash in on the German dilemma. Washington has just established the Inter-American Bank to accommodate this trade. The Export-Import Bank is making judicious loans for this purpose. Washington is now planning a hemisphere trade monopoly, that is, a corporation through which all hemisphere trade with the rest of the world will have to pass. The big drive, in which Wall Street expects to emerge at the top of the imperialist heap, is now shaking the British positions all along the line, with significant political effects. Argentina has traditionally been under the British thumb. Its politicos and business folk are now swinging toward the fat boys up north.

### EXPORT OR DIE

The point to bear in mind at all times is that the system which currently passes for civilization in our own country is subject to the same dynamism as Germany's. It will sound grating to some ears, but American businessmen must export their goods—or die. (Better yet, they ask us to do the dying.) They must have some spot to invest the moneys they make. The investment must pay a handsome profit, or else civilization is endangered, the only civilization they know. Germany felt this desperation earlier in the decade. Her businessmen therefore drove the German people to fascism with Herr Hitler's assistance. The same thing is happening here.

Of course it is true that many Germans, Italians, and Spaniards hold key posts in South American governments. Politically, they side with the countries from which they come. These are a relative handful. The newspapers aren't naming them, but they are high up in the councils of governments with which Washington happens to be playing ball. For example, the American Treasury is giving the Brazilian Central Bank $50,000,000 in gold. President Vargas, that great democrat who rules Brazil by decree, is playing ball for much more. His war minister, Enrico Dutra, and his chief of staff, Goes Monteiro, were decorated last April 26 with the Grand Cross of the Order of the German Eagle, the highest Nazi award to foreigners. Ecuador is another example. Its war minister, Galo Plaza, is sympathetic to Germany, and opposed the Washington efforts to oust the German-controlled SEDTA airlines in favor of Pan-American Grace. Nevertheless, Washington does business with this gentleman, and recently offered to purchase through him strategic spots on the Galapagos Islands off the western shores of the Panama Canal.

Democracy for the semicolonial peoples depends upon the distribution of large landed estates, the abolition of special privileges to foreigners, the education of the masses, upon industrialization. Imperialism stands in the way of all those things: German imperialism and American too. And when governments do come into power in those countries dedicated to a democratic program, Washington gets all jittery. Take Chile, where the only Popular Front in the world still holds power. The Export-Import Bank recently loaned Chile some $17,000,000, presumably to facilitate trade. The story is that these sums are now being held up because the State Department doesn't like Chile's insistence upon strict neutrality toward the war. Or take Cuba, where the new American ambassador, George Messersmith, is working night and day to compromise the forces that promise a measure of democracy to Cuba. Mexico is another story. Here Wall Street and Washington hope to achieve their purpose by working all ends against the middle: trying to corrupt the democratic forces by threatening to support the Almazanist uprising, working it the other way to keep Almazan in line.

The irony is this: in 1823 the Monroe Doctrine was enunciated to protect the weak, struggling American republic from the encroachments of the great European powers. People who saw the motion picture *Juarez* remember how dangerous such encroachments were for the emergent American capitalism. That capitalism has reached the ugly imperialist stage. In the names of the Monroe Doctrine and hemisphere responsibility the mightiest of imperialist powers, the United States, now plans encroachments on its own weak and struggling neighbors below the Rio Grande.

JOSEPH STAROBIN.

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# Room 2212: Washington's Quietest Spot

## A. B. Magil visits the Civil Liberties Unit of the D. of J. Some fancy windowdressing. But one man in the capital has good advice: "When things get tough, get tougher."

*Washington, D. C.*

THE Civil Liberties Unit of the Department of Justice is a quiet place these days. There is a stenographer or two floating around, but the work does not seem pressing. Almost anybody can call up the unit's director, Henry A. Schweinhaut, and he will see you and talk amiably for an hour or so. Civil liberties in 1940 America are under fire as they have not been since the Palmer days twenty years ago. But all that is a rumbling far away. In the great stone mausoleum of the Department of Justice Building on Pennsylvania Avenue and Tenth Street the Civil Liberties Unit—Room 2212—moves in accustomed grooves, its files intact, its precedents impeccable. Nobody pays much attention to the unit nowadays. It is the vermiform appendix of the New Deal.

### CIVIL LIBERTIES

Mr. Schweinhaut, a thin, blond young man with glasses, talks earnestly of the unit's work. The Civil Liberties Unit is just one among five sections of the Justice Department's criminal division, headed by Asst. Atty. Gen. John Rogge. Mr. Rogge, like his superior, Atty. Gen. Robert Jackson, has made excellent speeches on the subject of civil liberties. But the energy generated in those speeches has somehow been dissipated in the process of conversion into the practical activity of the Civil Liberties Unit. The unit's personnel has varied from four to ten—at present there are eight on the staff. The Federal Bureau of Investigation has one thousand men and is shortly to add six hundred more. In that contrast is the measure of the government's concern for civil liberties. Add to this the fact that the Civil Liberties Unit has not a single investigator on its staff. All its investigating work is done by—whom do you think? The FBI. I asked Mr. Schweinhaut whether he didn't think it curious that the investigation of attacks on civil liberties should be entrusted to that agency of the government which has itself been guilty of gross violations of civil liberties. He declined to commit himself. One can appreciate why Mr. Schweinhaut should be allergic to any discussion of the FBI. Only a few weeks ago Attorney General Jackson, in response to repeated requests by Senator Norris for an investigation of the FBI's Detroit raids on loyalist sympathizers, gave Mr. Schweinhaut the task of going through the motions. He did. The ensuing whitewash was elaborate and carefully documented. Before sending his report to Senator Norris, Mr. Schweinhaut submitted it to that well known specialist in civil liberties, J. Edgar Hoover. Mr. Hoover suggested some changes. Mr. Schweinhaut made them. The case was closed. Scholars of the future will undoubtedly appreciate the complete files on the case that are kept in Mr. Schweinhaut's office.

The Civil Liberties Unit was established in February 1939, in the days when the New Deal was still on the White House calling list. "How many cases have you handled in that time?" Mr. Schweinhaut was vague. The majority of civil liberties cases, he explained, don't clear through his office at all. They are handled directly by the US attorneys in the various districts throughout the country as part of their regular routine. Of course, he added, they don't look after nearly as many civil liberties cases as they do liquor cases. Apparently liquor violations are the more serious menace to democracy. Some of the cases left to the local US attorneys, cases over which the Civil Liberties Unit has no supervision, are of national significance. Among them are the recent hoodlum attack on ten persons who were collecting signatures in Pekin, Ill., to place the Communist Party on the ballot and the acts of mob violence in Texas, California, and Oklahoma against members of the Jehovah's Witnesses religious sect who were distributing peace literature.

### MR. SCHWEINHAUT'S QUANDARY

The Civil Liberties Unit itself is now working on about a dozen cases. Several involve Negro peonage and floggings in Georgia. One is the case of Laurent Franz, Birmingham, Ala., attorney for the Communist Party, who was illegally arrested and held incommunicado by federal agents working together with the Dies committee. Another is the case of the two Dies committee agents who led the Philadelphia raid on the headquarters of the Communist Party and the International Workers Order. Mr. Schweinhaut explained that there was a difference of opinion as to whether there had been any violation of federal law in this case. The federal judge ruled that there had been such violation, but the US commissioner decided the other way. "I have two lawyers working on the case," said Mr. Schweinhaut. "One is working on the theory that there was a violation of federal law, the other on the theory that there wasn't. When they submit their reports, we'll be able to decide what to do." The Civil Liberties Unit, you see, does a thorough job. ("Because of the complexity of the civil rights law, it's been our policy to move cautiously.") It isn't the unit's fault if by the time it has mobilized all the fire-fighting apparatus, the house has burned down.

"How many prosecutions have you completed in the sixteen months since the unit was established?" *Just one,* admitted Mr. Schweinhaut—and that was thrown out by the Supreme Court. I rose to leave. "It looks to me as if your organization is just windowdressing," I said. Mr. Schweinhaut did not smile.

Windowdressing is, in fact, quite popular in Washington these days. The people must not learn what is happening behind the scenes. If they did, how long would the 93 percent who are opposed to getting into war tolerate the machinations in the White House and on Capitol Hill?

### EVERYTHING EXCEPT AMERICA

During my stay in Washington I spoke to congressmen, newspapermen, labor leaders, cab drivers. I was seeking some insight into what was going on in high places. I found for the most part bewilderment and fatalism. Many are disturbed by the Roosevelt administration's drive toward war and its assault on civil liberties. But they feel helpless, caught in a remorseless whirlpool of events. Washington is a peculiarly rootless city, a wheel without a hub. Everything is there except America. If only the fainthearts were able to lift their eyes beyond the Washington Monument and see *the people.*

I talked with Reps. John Coffee of Washington and Lee Geyer of California, two of the waning band of Democratic liberals. The heat has been turned on and efforts are being made to frighten them into abandoning liberal principles. Both congressmen told me that most of the letters they have received in recent days urge increased aid to the Allies and repeal of the Johnson act. But both are convinced from the nature of the letters that they are inspired. "The overwhelming majority of my constituents want us to stay out of war," said Congressman Coffee. "I don't think there's been any change in that respect." Congressman Geyer agreed that the same thing was true of the voters in his district. "This hysteria is leading to the organization of so-called citizens' committees and other vigilante groups," said Coffee. "It doesn't look good to me."

### THE POPULAR WILL

Reaction rides high in both houses of Congress and in the administration. But don't think it can ride down the popular will with any ease. I learned that many members of Congress had been impressed with the latest Gallup poll which showed 93 percent of the voters opposed to declaring war on Germany and sending our armed forces to foreign battlefields. And letters from the folks back home also make a dent—remember, this is election year not only for President and Vice President, but for all of the 435 members of the House and one-third of the ninety-

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six Senate members. The day I came to Washington Senator Capper of Kansas spread over more than seven pages of the *Congressional Record* typical letters he had received opposing American intervention in the European war.

I left the hothouse of Capitol Hill and went out into the fresh air—into the office of Rep. Vito Marcantonio of New York, the only member of Congress who had the courage to vote against the Roosevelt war budget. Marcantonio is a short, compact fist of a man. There is nothing jittery about him. He is ready to stand alone, if need be, against war, for civil liberties and the needs of the people. Alone in Congress, but not in the country. He knows he has the support not only of the great majority of the Italian and Puerto Rican workers in his own Harlem district who elected him on the American Labor Party ticket, but of millions throughout the nation. Of the letters Marcantonio has received since his historic vote against the war budget—many of them from outside New York—only one has been unfavorable.

VITO MARCANTONIO

Representative Marcantonio was in a fighting mood when I saw him. On a parliamentary technicality he had just prevented a vote on the bill to deport Harry Bridges. The bill would now have to wait a week or ten days before coming up again. In that time it might be possible to organize more effective opposition. Marcantonio, besides his other qualities, is one of the best strategists in the House.

I found Marcantonio alert to the seriousness of the situation, but without defeatism. He knows the power of the pro-war forces, the capacity of the President to seduce and betray. But he knows too that there is a greater power. We talked of various individuals and organizations that had weakened and succumbed. What could be done?

"Take the issue to the people." The New York Laborite looked grim. *"When things get tough, get tougher."*

A. B. MAGIL.

## Jehovah's Witnesses

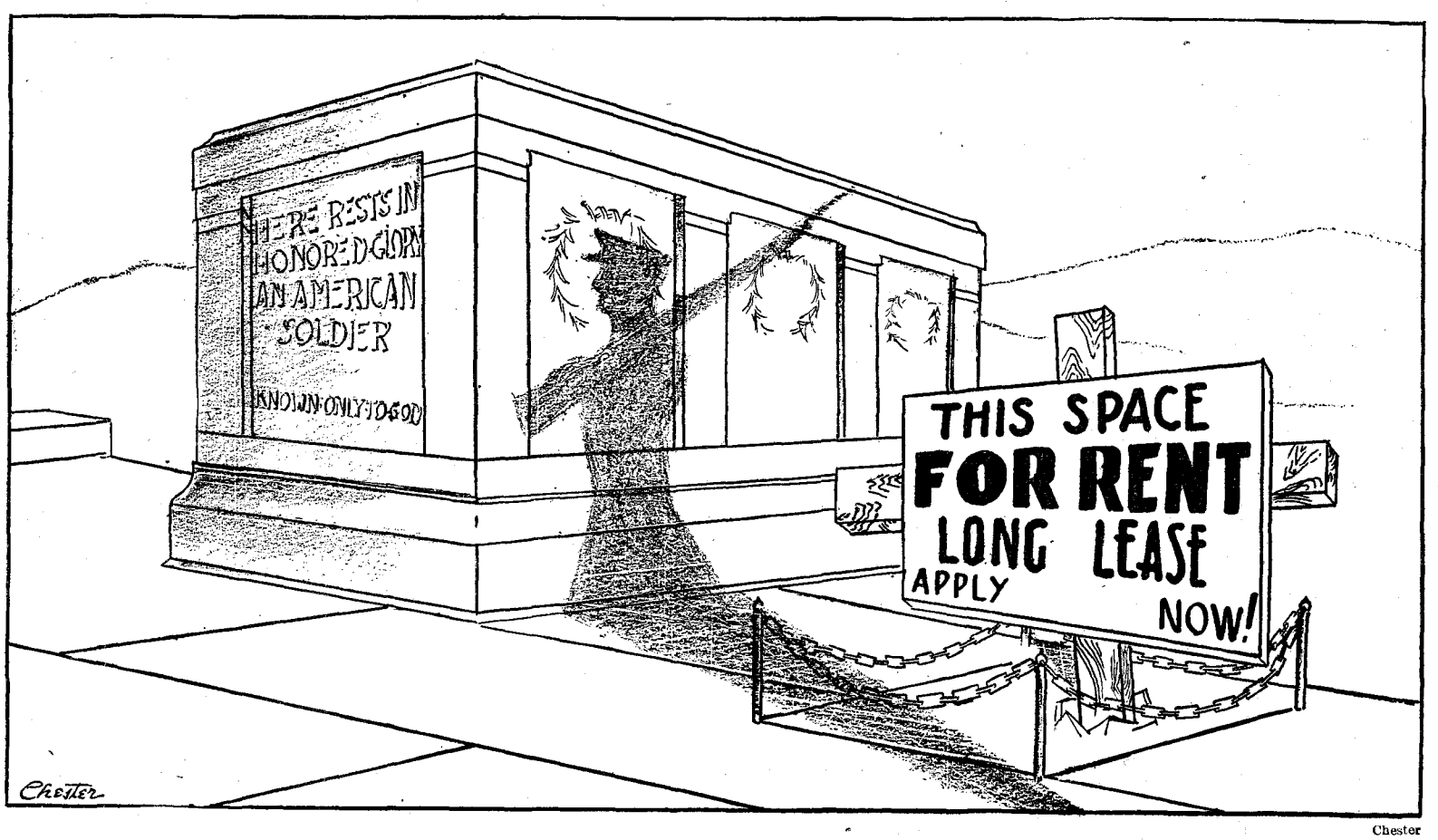
IN THE name of "national unity" the US Supreme Court last week encouraged the disruptive forces of religious persecution in America. By an eight-to-one decision (Justice Stone dissenting) the court upheld a state law compelling school children of the Jehovah's Witnesses to salute the American flag, in violation of their religious tenets. The decision, as written by Justice Frankfurter, is a remarkable piece of war promotion. It defends religious freedom, then uses the fashionable "liberal" plea for "absolute safety for free institutions against foreign aggression." It presents the flag as a symbol of "protection of the weak against the strong"—and thereby justifies persecution of a small religious minority!

Six days after the court's ruling, five hundred people burned down a Jehovah's Witnesses headquarters in Maine and severely beat two members of the sect. The lynch mob acted on an accusation, not proved, that some of the Witnesses had shot two men.

Less than a month ago the court overthrew a Connecticut law which prevented Jehovah's Witnesses from soliciting money in public places. At that time the justices were against any "censorship of religion." Now they are catching up with the war drive. They are giving an intimation of what conscientious objectors to war may expect in the way of justice. Virtually all religious faiths, Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish, contain large groups which condemn this war on religious grounds. For Catholics the danger is doubly great because of charges made in the past that they "give allegiance to a foreign power." The Church, in fact, is already getting a taste of war persecution in the drive against "aliens," the great majority of whom are Catholic. Justice Frankfurter's jingo phraseology will spur this drive, besides furthering the sadistic sport of Ku Kluxism.

## Missouri Sharecroppers

MEXICAN day laborers are being brought into Missouri by cotton planters to take the place of evicted sharecroppers. According to the law, the planters are supposed to share 50 percent of their AAA benefits with sharecroppers; they hope by using "hired help" to circumvent that law completely—as they have managed to circumvent it in large part in the past. Meanwhile, the sharecroppers evicted in 1939 are still barely keeping themselves alive in shacks on the submarginal land areas of southwestern Missouri. A bill has been introduced in Congress to limit the amount of AAA subsidy which a landowner may receive so that he won't profit from using day laborers instead of sharecroppers. However, the measure is one among numerous pieces of domestic legislation in which Congress can't get interested since the war dance started.




Chester

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# Science Was Different at Alma Mater

## In which Ruth McKenney joins the great Vavilov-Lysenko debate on heredity and environment. Take a tomato plant and see what happens.

I NEVER thought I'd live to regret sassing the teacher in Biology I, a course of study given for freshman students at Ohio State University. Indeed, I am sorry to report that for years I have mentally licked my chops every time I thought of my spectacular and decidedly premature departure from the cozy little world of cut-up frogs; microscopes that didn't quite work (for me, anyway); Mendelian laws (brown eyes are recessive but snaggle-teeth are fearfully dominant, beware!); and Dr. J. Senton Criller, a boor to pale the cheek of any other boor I have ever known, except Louis Fischer.

But now my smug complacency is ruined, busted wide open. I expect I'm too old and broken down now to take another whack at Biology I- and related scientific studies, so pardon the tear in my eye. I'll never know, except through a glass darkly, what N. I. Vavilov, Lysenko, and Polyakov were talking about that time they all tangled last October in Moscow. But even the humblecats in this neo-scientific world can take a gander at the big boys, and I guess I know as much about genetics as Westbrook Pegler and Raymond Clapper know about economics and politics, so stand back, and let the chips fall where they may.

I think I should start off by reporting that it was mighty hot in Westport last Monday. Also the mosquitoes were in high spirits, full of fun and energy. My dog Polly and I retired to our screened-in porch after a bout of weeding in the garden, where we both spent several minutes just panting. I considered various excuses for not working, selected the one I found most convincing, turned my back on my typewriter, reached for a Coca-Cola and plenty of ice, and picked up the current issue of *Science and Society*. (Adv.) My husband always reads *Science and Society* from cover to cover and afterward I hear him battling around with his old pals about this or that item he gleaned from the pages. With me, it is different. I try hard, but about all I can really figure out is the book reviews, and sometimes even the book reviews are pretty high class and murky for a lady who didn't do so well in Biology I a decade ago. Just the same, I like to leaf over *Science and Society*. It makes me feel scientific and high toned.

So I was leafing busily away at the new issue when I came face to face with an article labeled, "Genetics in the Soviet Union." I considered this dubiously, noted that three gents with three equally unpronounceable names were listed as the contributors, wet my thumb, and all but missed the best knock-down, drag-out brawl I have ever encountered between the pages of a magazine. Fortunately my finger slipped and my eye fell on a juicy passage that made me choke on my Coca-Cola. Vavilov is speaking. (I'll explain who he is later.) Lysenko's boys are heckling him. Vavilov is getting pretty darned mad. Okay, Vavilov sings out, but "I infected my students with Mendelism and Morganism!"

Ya-a-a-ah comes from the opposition. A man labeled "Voice" bellows, "Are they still your followers?"

Touche. Vavilov bites his teeth. Then he comes back with a pretty one. "Maybe you will cause me to mutate too!" The article records "Laughter."

Science was never like this at Ohio State University, or I might have stayed closer to that microscope. But before anybody accuses me of being frivolous, we have to go back and pick up the strands of this little argument.

In the first place (so far as I could make out, and, as I said, I never got through Biology I) this Vavilov now is one of the big shot scientists in the Soviet Union. For twenty years he's been what my grandma would call the cock of the walk, in the genetics division. Soviet agriculture has been pretty much his dish. When Vavilov said such-and-such kind of seed for wheat or tomatoes or something, why, by gum, that's the kind of wheat and tomatoes the citizenry ate, no back talk invited.

Then along comes Lysenko, a young laddy who was in rompers when Vavilov was growing his first beard and laying down the law to the first collective farms. Vavilov, Lysenko says the moment he's out of high school, you stink on ice, kindly take a back seat and don't talk so much.

You can imagine how Vavilov felt. He raised plenty of hell, but to no avail. Lysenko had the drop on him because (and now we get to the nugget of the argument) Lysenko was a practical man, all the time growing things up in the Arctic Circle and such, while Vavilov mostly confined his operations to what is vulgarly known as book-learnin'.

Finally things got to such pass that a big Soviet magazine decided to call a conference and let the boys figure it out among themselves. This is known in capitalist newspapers as the Stalinist method of dictating to the arts and sciences. So Vavilov and Lysenko and their respective backers, together with a moderator who represented the magazine and kept tempers cool and heads clear, got together last October for this far-famed conference.

Vavilov spoke first. He's a Mendelian, which is to say, he thinks that heredity is everything. Take a tomato plant, for example. You can weed that tomato plant and practically kiss it every a.m. and it will be a good tomato plant, but its offspring (or whatever they call the next generation of tomatoes) won't be even a smidgeon better tomato plant, just because you took care of its ancestor.

Lysenko says no sir, that tomato plant you treated so carefully will be a darned sight better father or ancestor or whatever it is, and the next generation of tomatoes will be BETTER tomatoes. Or vice versa.

Now this all sounds simple when they battle about tomatoes. Personally, I strongly dislike tomatoes and it is a matter of profound indifference to me what happens to tomatoes. I expect I *should* care but I don't. Lysenko can produce the world's most terrific tomato, as big as a watermelon and as juicy as a peach, and I won't bat an eyelash.

But tomatoes are not the crux of this problem. Heredity and environment are very interesting concepts, even to such scientific dimwits as myself. Suppose you take a generation of babies, the way they are doing in the Soviet Union, and feed them splendidly, and give them plenty of cod liver oil and trips to the dentist. And then suppose you give them, each and every one, a fine education, and teach them to love their neighbors as they would themselves, and to live decently and with enthusiasm, to read poetry and listen to good music and play soccer or go swimming and look through microscopes.

Vavilov says you'd get a good crop of citizens, but the next generation wouldn't be any better human beings than their fathers and mothers before them. Lysenko loudly disagrees. The next generation, he argues, will be BETTER human beings, DIFFERENT human beings, healthier, and more intelligent, more capable of learning.

This is the old story of heredity vs. environment, but this time it's being argued on a different scale, in a different world. If we found out in the United States that we could produce better human beings by cultivating our children with at least as much care as that old tomato plant, we could only break right down into tears. For there is a reverse coin to this proposition. Lysenko says tomato plants produce a lot of rummy, inferior offspring if they're not treated right. What kind of human beings will we produce in the next generation, with their ancestors cradled in unemployment, in bitter poverty, in brutal race hatred, in the crazy horror of war?

Besides, I'm afraid this whole dispute is rather quaint and outmoded. Heredity is a much of nothing to the men who died in the Battle of Flanders, and environment is an ugly word for the children in France and Germany and England, busily starving on the war standards of living.

The only country in the world that is in-

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terested in publicly debating (and furiously, too) the problem of how to raise better tomatoes and eventually better human beings is the Soviet Union.

But just the same, I wish I had lasted through Biology I. I expect to live to see the day in the United States when the big scandale all over the front pages of the newspapers will be what Jones, that Mendelian, screamed at Brown, the old environment boy, and the New York *Times* (under new management) headlines: "Debate Has Far-Reaching Consequences!"

And filled with these thoughts, so scientific and sublime, I turned from Lysenko (whom I secretly favor) to Raymond Clapper. Mr. Clapper thinks the Communists are going to make an uprising in Mexico to prevent the election. Clapper's sort of thing *must* be environment. I simply can't believe ignorance and viciousness so terrific is inherited.

Note: I am suggesting to the editors that they get Harold Ward to do a report on this genetics debate for NEW MASSES readers. Don't hold the editors responsible for the scientific statements in this column.

RUTH MCKENNEY.

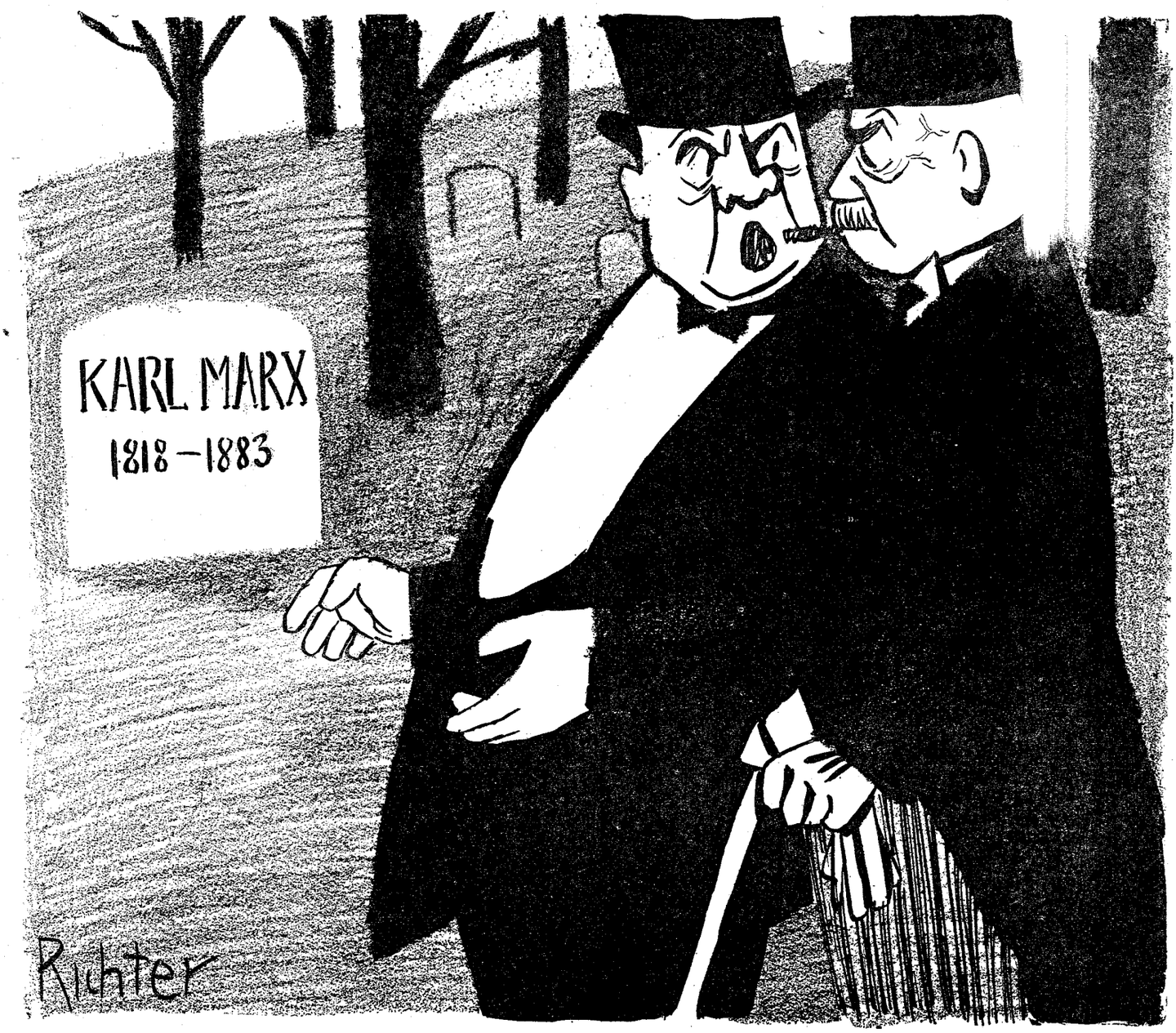
## The Right to Dissent

"THE bill for the deportation of Bridges is contrary to this country's principles. After a careful investigation for the Labor Department, Dean Landis of Harvard found that he was not subject to deportation. Is such a judicial finding to be set aside by a capricious congressional decree?

"In short, is the need for strengthening our national defenses to be ... for assailing anybody a ... whose opinions the majo... agree? Are we to dest... America as a land that ... living to all? . . . Are we ... terical fear—fear that is t...

"The American traditi... dissenters like Sam Adam... and Tom Paine. It is th... of defenders of the rig... makers and shapers of ou... philosophy such as Jeffer... is the tradition which ha... previous waves of hyste... Sedition laws, the Know... Klan rule, the A. Mitchel... the last war."—*Excerpt... titled "Democracy's Gold... "Post-Dispatch," June 2.*

...to a pretext ...ybody with ...us may not ... concept of ...aven and a ...way to hys... ...of cruelty? ... tradition of ...hn Hancock ...n of a host ...ssent—great ...racy and its ... Lincoln. It ...through all ... Alien and ... movement, ... raids after ...n editorial ..." St. Louis




*"If we could only get rid of him!"* Mischa Richter

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# What Happened to the Health Program?

## Dr. Henry E. Sigerist of Johns Hopkins discusses a question millions ask. What happened to the original Wagner bill? One-third of nation—ill clothed, ill housed, ill fed—must know.

IT HAS been two years now since three hundred men and women representing all walks of life went to Washington for a conference called by Josephine Roche, one of America's great women. They spent three days together discussing the health needs of the nation and discussing a report presented by the Technical Committee on Medical Care, a subcommittee of the President's Interdepartmental Committee to Coordinate Health and Welfare Activities. They heard the results of the committee's investigations and its recommendations to improve existing conditions. They discussed these recommendations at great length and endorsed them enthusiastically. America's National Health Program was born. After ten years of fact finding which had revealed great inadequacies and maladjustments in the distribution of medical care, the time for action had come.

It was by no means a revolutionary program and did not signify any departure from the customary way of medical care. The committee was fully aware of the great progress achieved by medical science in this country and took existing institutions and facilities into account. It recommended the extension of services which had been primarily responsible for the progress achieved, such as public health and hospital services. It recommended medical care for the medically needy, a group of forty million people. It recommended compensation for the loss of wages due to illness and drew attention to the fact that many millions of low income families found it difficult to budget the cost of illness and that therefore provisions should be made to enable these groups to pay for the cost of medical care according to their ability on a prepayment basis. The National Health Program did not attempt to change medical services that had proved their efficacy. It merely endeavored to make the social adjustments required by a new medical science in a new society. Medicine, as everybody knows, has become highly technical and highly specialized, and at the same time society has become highly differentiated as a result of industrialization. Four-fifths of all gainfully employed persons are wage earners or salaried employees. The National Health Program merely endeavored to provide a doctor and other medical personnel and facilities to every family, whether rich or poor, and attempted to enable the doctor to apply all means of medical science available today.

### WAGNER HEALTH BILL

This was two years ago. Two years is a long time and we are justified in asking what has happened to the National Health Program. In February 1939 Senator Wagner introduced a bill (S. 1620), the purpose of which was to open the door so that the states would be able to put the National Health Program into practice. The initiative was left entirely to the states. It was up to them to determine their health policies. Recognizing that conditions were varied in different sections of the country, neither the National Health Program nor the Wagner bill ever tried to force definite schemes upon the states. The federal government, however, recognizing the paramount importance of health for the welfare of the nation, was willing to grant subsidies to those states that would develop a sound health program. The purpose of the Wagner bill was to appropriate funds for such subsidies and to set minimum requirements that must be met if a program was to be recognized worthy of federal aid.

The Wagner bill was widely discussed in the nation, was warmly supported by consumers' groups and widely attacked by others. Among the opponents were those people who on principle abhor all forms of government spending even when it ultimately means a saving to them. The American Medical Association opposed the bill also. It was afraid of government interference in medical matters and of regimentation. It accepted the principle that public funds should be provided for the medically needy but rejected provisions for the low income groups. I am convinced that many physicians opposed the Wagner bill without having taken the trouble of studying it. A former student was in my office the other day and in the course of our conversation he mentioned that the Wagner bill was a vicious document. I took it out of my files and we went through it together, whereupon my young colleague changed his mind and confessed that he had never seen the bill before. The Wagner bill undoubtedly had gaps and weaknesses, but it was a promising first step that made it possible for the states to make a start in developing their own state health programs.

The bill was dropped and in its stead Senators Wagner and George introduced in February 1940 a new bill (S. 3230) that came to be known as the National Hospital Act. It was a mere stopgap. Since it seemed impossible to put the whole National Health Program into practice, one of its most urgent points, the provision of added hospital facilities, was to be realized. It was known that 1,338 counties with a population of seventeen million had no registered general hospital and that in many other counties hospital facilities, although existing, were inadequate. Experience has shown, furthermore, that hospitals in rural districts not only serve the population better but also raise the standard of medical practice. They provide the scientific means without which there can be no modern medicine. A well equipped hospital in a rural district immediately attracts young and well qualified physicians who otherwise would have remained in the cities. The Wagner-George bill in its revised form provided $10,000,000 a year for six years for the construction of hospitals in rural districts and $500,000 a year for the same period for the maintenance of hospitals until the localities are ready to support them. It is a drop in the bucket, but in an emergency—and rural health conditions do constitute an emergency—every drop is welcome. This very modest bill that nobody opposes seriously was not passed by the Senate until last week. It still has to be passed by the House.

### HEALTH INSURANCE

In January 1939 Senator Capper introduced a health insurance bill (S. 658). The National Health Program did not advocate health insurance. The states were entirely free to determine how they wished to finance their medical services. Insurance, however, is one method of financing that has been tested not only in Europe but in America as well. Four South American republics have introduced health insurance in recent years, and we in this country have based our Workmen's Compensation Acts on the principle of insurance, not without success. Health in-

### *Health "Too Costly"*

THE Wagner Health Bill, as Dr. Sigerist points out, represented the first real attempt at federal action toward meeting the nation's tremendous health needs. As such it was pushed by progressive forces throughout America, against the hostile hierarchy of the American Medical Association haunted by the specter of "socialized medicine."

But those tories alone did not kill the measure. It was FDR, formerly a leading proponent of the bill, who threw it overboard six months ago when he found it "too costly" in time of war preparations. This point should not be forgotten. For the National Health Program was one of the first American casualties of Europe's war. As a substitute and sop, Roosevelt proposed a minor program of hospital aid, which was later embodied in the Wagner-George bill that Dr. Sigerist describes as a "mere stopgap." Senator Wagner, whose National Labor Relations Act is now being wrecked, shared in the sabotage of the original health bill that bore his name, by consenting to the President's action. It is significant that Roosevelt chose to initiate his war program by destroying a bill designed to save lives and rebuild crippled bodies.

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surance, therefore, was a system that was well worth being considered by the states and also worthy of being supported by federal grants. The Capper bill provided funds for such subsidies and set minimum requirements which must be met by the states if they wished to be aided by the federal government. The bill died in the Committee on Finance. In March 1940 Senator Capper introduced a revised bill which at the present time is before the Committee on Education and Labor and will in all probability die there. A number of states introduced health insurance bills in their local legislatures. They were all killed without exception.

And so the National Health Program is still on paper, still a promise, and we are far from its fulfillment. It is worth examining what the opposing forces have been. As was mentioned before, many people are afraid of the program because it costs money which ultimately means increased taxation. Yet we know that illness costs the people of the United States $10,000,000,000 a year, and it is equally well known that money spent for the protection of health brings large dividends. Recently I saw a very convincing demonstration of this in South Africa. The gold mines of the Witwatersrand, the economic backbone of that country, employ 300,000 native and thirty thousand white mine workers. The native miners are examined medically three times before they begin their work. They are fed in the mines according to the latest standards of nutrition. They are weighed once every month, and if a man loses a pound he is immediately examined by a physician. All the mines have hospitals and a large staff of full-time medical officers. If a miner has the slightest ailment, he is immediately sent to the hospital and kept there until he is fully restored. The white mine workers have extensive benefit societies to which the companies contribute considerable amounts of money. The gold mines are not philanthropic institutions but hardboiled business undertakings and it is perfectly obvious that they would not spend large sums of money for health if they did not know by experience that it increases their profits.

Opposition has also come from people who are afraid of government interference. They draw a gloomy picture of a medical system controlled by political bosses. Every system can be wrecked if it is badly administered, but there is no reason why it should not be administered properly. Nobody can deny that our public health services are managed efficiently and that they have contributed more than any other agency to improving the health conditions of the country. It is not logical that the people who praise the American form of government most loudly are the same who accuse it of graft, corruption, and inefficiency.

One of the most important factors in retarding developments has been that the medical profession was divided in its attitude toward the National Health Program. I think it is fair to state that the great majority of all physicians have no opinion of their own in these matters. They are busy practitioners who have not the time to study these very complicated questions which require not only medical knowledge but also knowledge of economics and sociology. They are uninformed and have no way of getting objective information. The average practitioner reads the *Journal of the American Medical Association* and the commercial magazines that are sent to him free, so that he sees only one side of the picture. Among the physicians who have made a study of the problems two groups have crystallized: the American Medical Association (supplemented by the National Physicians' Committee for the Extension of Medical Service) and the Committee of Physicians for the Improvement of Medical Care, which made its first appearance in 1937 with the stirring Manifesto of the 430. Both groups have issued platforms and it is interesting to compare them:

*Platform of the American Medical Association and the National Physicians' Committee.* The American Medical Association advocates:

1. The establishment of an agency of the federal government under which shall be coordinated and administered all medical and health functions of the federal government exclusive of those of the army and navy.

2. The allotment of such funds as the Congress may make available to any state in actual need, for the prevention of disease, the promotion of health, and the care of the sick on proof of such need.

3. The principle that the care of the public health and the provision of medical service to the sick is primarily a local responsibility.

4. The development of a mechanism for meeting the needs of expansion of preventive medical services with local determination of needs and local control of administration.

5. The extension of medical care for the indigent and the medically indigent with local determination of needs and local control of administration.

6. In the extension of medical services to all the people, the utmost utilization of qualified medical and hospital facilities already established.

7. The continued development of the private practice of medicine, subject to such changes as may be necessary to maintain the quality of medical services and to increase their availability.

8. Expansion of public health and medical services consistent with the American system of democracy.

*Principles and Proposals of the Committee of Physicians. Principles:*

1. That the health of the people is a direct concern of the government.

2. That a national public health policy directed toward all groups of the population should be formulated.

3. That the problem of economic need and the problem of providing adequate medical care are not identical and may require different approaches for their solution.

4. That in the provision of adequate medical care for the population four agencies are concerned: voluntary agencies, local, state, and federal governments.

*Proposals:*

1. That the first necessary step toward the realization of the above principles is to minimize the risk of illness by prevention.

2. That an immediate problem is provision of adequate medical care for the medically indigent, the cost to be met from public funds (local and/or state and/or federal).

3. That public funds should be made available for the support of medical education and for studies, investigations, and procedures for raising the standards of medical practice. If this is not provided for, the provision of adequate medical care may prove impossible.

4. That public funds should be available for medical research as essential for high standards of practice in both preventive and curative medicine.

5. That public funds should be made available to hospitals that render service to the medically indigent and for laboratory and diagnostic and consultative services.

6. That in allocation of public funds existing private institutions should be utilized to the largest possible extent and that they may receive support so long as their service is in consonance with the above principles.

7. That public health services, federal, state, and local, should be extended by evolutionary process.

8. That the investigation and planning of the measures proposed and their ultimate direction should be assigned to experts.

9. That the adequate administration and supervision of the health functions of the government, as implied in the above proposals, necessitates in our opinion a functional consolidation of all federal health and medical activities, preferably under a separate department.

The subscribers to the above principles and proposals hold the view that health insurance alone does not offer a satisfactory solution on the basis of principles and proposals enunciated above.

The two platforms have many points in common. Both groups agree in that it would be desirable to have all federal health activities centralized in one agency. Both agree that public funds are needed for providing medical care to the medically needy, i.e., for one-third of the nation. They further agree that existing facilities should be used as much as possible and that the process should be an evolutionary one. But the dissension is greater than appears from the platforms. The Committee of Physicians states frankly that the health of the people is a direct concern of government and is not afraid of health insurance or of an extension of public services. Nor is it afraid of using public funds for existing private institutions, for medical education and research. The American Medical Association, on the other hand, states:

Careful study of the history of the development of medical care in various nations of the world leads to the inevitable conclusion that the introduction of methods such as compulsory sickness insurance, state medicine, and similar technics results in a trend toward Communism or totalitarianism and away from democracy as the established form of government.

This is undoubtedly a grossly exaggerated statement that must be based on rather superficial historical studies, because countries such as the Scandinavian countries, England, or Switzerland can certainly not be accused of Communism or totalitarianism.

In spite of all difficulties some progress has been achieved in the last two years. Group

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hospitalization has developed considerably and embraces today more than three million people. One out of every six New Yorkers has joined the Associated Hospital Service. Cooperative health associations are developing all over the country, and in every state and every larger city an infinite variety of prepayment plans are in operation, all of which are based on the principle of voluntary insurance. In Boston the leading physicians of the city have started a Health Service which seems very promising. Some of the plans are good, others are poor; some have succeeded and others have failed. It would be rash, however, to conclude when a plan breaks down, as happened in Washington, that there is no need for such services. Another conclusion may be drawn, namely, that the plan was not attractive to the people. Experimentation is sound and most welcome, but all these plans, valuable as they may be to certain groups of the population, do not represent a solution of the nation's health problem.

In a democratic country the people have the last word. They will have to decide whether their health needs are satisfied or not and whether they want additional services or not. It is a good sign that People's Health Committees have been organized in various states and cities. It shows that the people are beginning to be conscious of their health problems, that they refuse to accept illness as a matter of destiny, and that they are willing to cooperate in establishing and carrying out a health program. It is a sound sign because the people's health is the concern of the people themselves. Health cannot be forced upon the people. They must want it and must work for it. In the fight against disease the entire population must be mobilized permanently.

There is an interesting historical parallel which I would like to evoke. A hundred years ago in the years preceding the revolutionary year of 1848 there was a most powerful health movement in Germany. One of its chief leaders was the young Rudolf Virchow who was to become one of the world's leading pathologists. The movement was led by a large group of liberal physicians. Virchow, sent by the government to investigate an epidemic of relapsing fever in the industrial districts of Silesia, came to the conclusion that the causes of the epidemic were as much social and economic as physical. His report was a passionate indictment of the existing regime. The remedy he recommended was prosperity, education, and liberty, which can only develop on the basis of "complete and unrestricted democracy." These were unusual words in an epidemiological report. The German national health program of 1848 reminds us of our own program in many respects. The postulates included the erection of a central Ministry of Health, advised by a Physicians' Parliament; the foundation of an Academy of Medicine to serve as a clearing house for medical research; uniform license entitling physicians to practice in every German state; appointment of physicians to public offices on the basis of contests. Demands were made for public medical services for the indigent, for an increase in hospital facilities, for compensation for the loss of wages, and for sickness insurance financed by contributions from the workers and from the propertied classes with municipal and state subsidies. This was a hundred years ago. The great German health movement broke down. Why? Because it was a movement *for* the people but *without* the people. The people were never consulted in the matter and their voice was never heard.

It may seem futile to talk about expenditures for health today at a moment when the country is rearming and spending billions to increase its army and navy. And yet a notice in the New York *Times* of May 26 should make us realize that health is needed in such times more than ever. According to the New York *Times,* 32 percent of applicants for service in the army examined in southern New York had to be rejected for physical defects. These were all young people who did not feel sick and yet examination revealed them as physically defective and unfit.

We are often told that the medical problem is subordinate to a much broader and much more important problem, that of the general standard of living. We hear that what the people need first of all is plenty of wholesome food, decent homes, and clothing. Nobody will deny that the standard of living is all-important, and the ultimate goal must be to improve the living conditions of the people. But we are facing a vicious circle that we must try to break somewhere wherever it can be broken, now and here. Poverty creates illness which in turn creates more poverty. If we are able to abolish poverty we will have created one of the first conditions of health. But we know how difficult this is to achieve and know that it cannot be done overnight. In the medical field, however, we can act immediately and can improve conditions considerably.

I think, therefore, that we should not forget the National Health Program of 1938. It is not a panacea but a good foundation on which to build. We need an extension of public health services. We need more hospital beds in rural districts and distressed areas. The large group of medically needy must be attended not only in their interest but in our own, and there is no other way of achieving this than through the appropriation of public funds. It is only fair to help the wage earner to save money so that he may expect compensation for the loss of wages due to illness. We have already accepted the principle of unemployment insurance and this is a mere extension of it. And as for the large group of low income families, it is perfectly obvious that they wish a system that will enable them not only to budget the cost of illness but also to provide for preventive medical services. The National Health Program provides a basis for all these postulates. We must remember it and work toward its fulfillment.

HENRY E. SIGERIST.

Soriano

## Mind Reading?

SOME months before Roosevelt's "National Defense" message to Congress, Georges Lechartier, United States correspondent for the Paris *Journal des Debats,* wrote:

Let us not forget, as President Roosevelt has never forgotten, that one of the greatest weaknesses of the military assistance brought by America to the Allies immediately after their declaration of war against Germany in April 1917 was the total lack of military preparedness of the American people. Three months elapsed before the arrival of the first American contingents in France. President Roosevelt has taken care to avoid a repetition of this inadequate preparedness.

## Rebuff to Reaction

REACTIONARY efforts to force the dismissal of Dr. Harry F. Ward, former chairman of the American Civil Liberties Union and the American League for Peace and Democracy, from his position in the Union Theological Seminary were rebuffed recently by Dr. Henry Sloane Coffin, seminary president, speaking to an alumni dinner. Dr. Coffin said that members of the seminary faculty must be competent scholars and men of Christian character, but the seminary

has never assumed any responsibility for the political or the economic or other social views of its professors. They are at liberty to join whatever organizations they wish. One hopes that men in responsible positions will act with Christian discretion, but there will be inevitable differences of opinion as to what is and what is not Christian discretion. On this position I have felt the overwhelming support of the alumni.

## Judas Betrayed

"NOW the Spaniards are beginning to clamor about the injustice of Britain's owning Gibraltar. Murmur from Cliveden House: 'Et tu, Franco?' "—*Editorial note in St. Louis "Post-Dispatch," June 3.*

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# Mob Law in the Midwest

## Ten Americans were almost lynched in Pekin, Ill., for exercising their constitutional rights.

*Chicago.*

TEN of my fellow citizens of Chicago are back home after narrowly escaping lynching in downstate Pekin on May 25 by a drunken, howling mob of American Legionnaires and town hoodlums. Their two cars were burned. They were kicked and pummeled while officers in sympathy with the vigilantes escorted them out of the Tazewell County courthouse. Sheriff Guy Donahue made no attempt to arrest any members of the mob, but instead arrested the delegation.

Those ten Chicagoans—eight men and two women—were attempting lawfully to exercise their constitutional right of securing signatures to place the Communist Party on the ballot—a legally organized, legally functioning political party. Six signature collectors had been arrested and carried to the county line by Sheriff Guy Donahue a week before with the warning "not to come back or there would be trouble."

John Leslie, in charge of the delegation, tells the story in a sworn affidavit to the International Labor Defense.

> One group of our people had been distributing leaflets for about five minutes [he said]. Two of these people were attacked by a group and beaten about the head. The people who had been attacked then went to the courthouse steps, together with the other members of their group, and asked admittance of the sheriff.
>
> Shortly afterward the group, of which I was a member, also proceeded to the courthouse and, perceiving the temper of the vigilante-led mob, decided to go inside for protection.
>
> I asked Sheriff Donahue for an explanation of this attack. He showed me the Friday and Saturday copies of the Pekin *Daily Times*. The Friday issue contained a story to the effect that the Communists, who had been in town before gathering signatures, were returning Saturday afternoon, and that a "reception committee" was being organized to take care of them. The Saturday issue, which appeared before our arrival, contained the information that evidently the Communists were not coming since no trace of them had been seen by six carloads of ex-servicemen who were patrolling the city since early morning.
>
> I then asked the sheriff if he knew that a representative of the federal government and Ira Latimer, secretary of the Chicago Civil Liberties Committee, were to be in Pekin that day to act as observers. He said that he had talked to Mr. Latimer about three hours previously.

No representative of the Department of Justice was seen in Pekin while the mob attempted to break into the courthouse. If anything, the Department of Justice was in part responsible for the mob action. According to the *Journal-Transcript* of nearby Peoria for May 26, US District Attorney Doyle in Peoria "did call Rayburn Russell, Tazewell County state's attorney, to inform him of the impending visit." Sheriff Donahue indicated to Leslie that the state's attorney's office "tipped off" the mob-minded editors of the Pekin paper that the Communists were due to arrive.

When Latimer arrived at the sheriff's office to act as an observer, before the appearance of the Communists, he found that official holding a drinking party in his sanctum with members of the American Legion. Latimer was forced to leave town by the vigilantes. When the attorney for the Communist Party in Chicago was advised of the mob danger in Pekin, he called the office of Gov. Henry Horner in Springfield asking adequate protection for the signature collectors. Arthur O'Brien, the governor's secretary, replied curtly that "no additional officers would be sent to Pekin unless the county authorities asked for assistance."

After the ten had submitted to arrest under protest, Sheriff Donahue with his deputies and the state police conducted them through a howling mob. They were struck and kicked. When one of the local citizens objected to such conduct on the part of the vigilantes, he too was threatened and forced to flee.

> In jail [Leslie in his sworn affidavit says] the sheriff forced us to put all our possessions into our jacket pockets, and to surrender our jackets to him, promising that they would be safe there, and alleging that he could not guarantee their safety elsewhere.
>
> He then forced us into a small block of damp, cold cells in which there already were five occupants. From then until 4:00 a.m. the following morning, the leaders of the violence outdoors smashed windows in our cell block, hurled taunts at us, and repeatedly threatened to hang us, daring us to come out and face them.
>
> When we left the jail, our jackets were returned to us, and we found that, despite the assurances we had received from the sheriff that our belongings would be safe, some of them were missing.

The mob which surged about the courthouse caught sight of one of the cars which had brought the Chicagoans to town. Several men seized hold of the automobile, overturned it, and set it afire.

The second car was driven about two miles out of town and burned. A farmer passed, saw the car burning, and decided that there was nothing he could do. After he had driven on, he was arrested and thrown in jail by officers patrolling the countryside on a charge of "leaving an accident."

The victims were finally taken from Pekin to Peoria by state police, with the vigilantes following all the way. "During our drive from Pekin to Peoria," Leslie stated, "the state police expressed their sympathies with the vigilantes, and said that so far as they were concerned, they would just as soon turn us loose to the mercy of the mob."

Unknown hoodlums, who on May 18 wrecked the West Side hall of the Communist party in Chicago, and set fire to it were more secretive than the Pekin mobsters. The marauders entered the hall during the early morning hours, broke the lock, and smashed the furniture and fixtures. Then they started a small fire and left. City firemen extinguished the flame; but when Carl Reynolds reported the outrage to the state fire marshal's office, he was grilled and, by implication, accused of committing the arson himself.

Less than a week later, Bob Wirtz, Midwest secretary of the International Labor Defense, and this writer were beaten by about thirty hoodlums on a crowded West Side corner following a meeting to protest the burning and wrecking of the hall. Previously, the West Side Civil Rights Committee, sponsoring the meeting, had been kept from entering a hall rented for the occasion by legionnaires and police. Before the meeting convened in another hall down the street, Capt. Louis Klatzco in charge of the police detail had boasted to Wirtz:

"I know we have a Bill of Rights, but I'm looking forward to the day when we can change the Bill of Rights and do with bullets what we can't do now."

During the week of the Pekin and Chicago outrages, police at Champaign, seat of the University of Illinois, arrested and tortured a Jewish student, Aaron Bindman, for making a street speech against war. While Bindman was held by one policeman and beaten by another, he was asked his nationality.

"I am an American," he replied.

"Anybody can see that you are a Jew," his assailant sneered, smashing another blow on the lad's face.

Teen-age boys in Chicago—decent young fellows who want to stay home, marry, and rear families instead of being conscripted for death—are being arrested and intimidated for distributing anti-war leaflets. One Jewish mother, whose son had been picked up for passing out leaflets, said, with Old Testament simplicity, to Sergeant Brennan of Albany Park Station: "Since when has it become a crime to quote the commandment in the Bible, 'Thou shalt not kill'? 'The Yanks are not coming' is just another way of saying it."

It is no accident that this gathering fury of the war party should have hit first in the Midwest. The new aviation plants to grind out machines of death will be concentrated in this area under the political trade between the President and Col. Frank Knox, publisher of the pro-British Chicago *Daily News* and vice presidential candidate on the Republican ticket in 1936. Nip all opposition to war in the bud before the aviation and other death factories are built—this is the policy of Roosevelt, the Chicago *Daily News*, and the Chicago *Tribune*. This policy is being enforced by guns and clubs in the hands of hoodlums who are out to attack anyone who believes that the way of peace is the only way for America in this international crisis.

HAROLD PREECE.

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# How Hitler's Armored Troops Work

## The Panzerdivisionen are the Nazis' steel cavalry. The strategy and tactics of assault. Why the Allies were driven back these past four weeks.

BEFORE the development of automatic weapons and artillery, practice preached the superior concentration of men at the decisive point as the way to win battles. "Get thar fustest with the mostest men," General Forrest had said. Today superior concentration of gunpowder is the watchword. The Panzerdivision is the German method of giving German assault soldiers this essential margin over their opponents. It is not possible so to equip them against an extremely heavily fortified position, but not all positions are that well defended. The Nazis know how to pick the spots.

There are only eleven thousand men in a German mechanized division, compared with fifteen thousand in the average infantry unit. But the eleven thousand are equipped with more than four hundred tanks, three thousand trucks and armored cars, three battalions of motorcyclists with six hundred motorcycles, seventy field guns, twenty-four mortars, about thirty anti-tank guns, a dozen or more anti-aircraft pieces, and a squadron of scouting planes. A whole armada of dive bombers joins the division when it swings into action. Thirty-ton and larger tanks preponderate. Their guns, one and a half to four inches in bore, are large enough to deal with any field fortifications. Their plate is impervious to French 25 mm. anti-tank shells.

Tanks are frequently compared with cavalry. In their ability to pursue defeated troops as well as carry out scout work, they indeed resemble the mounted arm of other days. But as the Nazis use them, tanks are more like the massed assault chariots of the Persians.

### THE LESSON OF THE MARNE

War, however, is not a matter of simple assault, despite the stupefying force of the Nazi blows which make it seem so. When the opposing armies dug in in 1914 after the Battle of the Marne, attack and counter-attack quickly became a futile tussle of waves of infantry hurled at each other across No Man's Land. Machine guns multiplied, artillery barrages became more devastating. Blundering generals presently learned such tricks as keeping their main forces out of barrage range and leaving the task of stopping the enemy charges to containing troops. But for three and a half years the wave assault tactic remained substantially unchanged. In scores of offensives one side would actually give way at a particular point. Because the generals feared exposed flanks they always held back those who could advance, until resistance all along the line should be broken —which never happened. The net result was stalemate. Then in 1918 a young German staff officer, Captain Geyer, devised a new tactic, infiltration.

Geyer believed piercing columns, not waves, should be used for assault. Wherever the enemy gave way, German columns should be pushed through, regardless of resistance at other points. Unpierced sectors of the enemy trench system could be rolled up from the side. Probing battalions, searching out the soft spots, would precede the main assault force and steer it to potential openings. Ludendorff used these unorthodox tactics in the spring breakthrough, and they worked. In a few weeks the Kaiser's soldiers had pushed to within fifty-five miles of Paris. The Reich's exhaustion, not Allied resistance, stopped them.

### FIND THE WEAK SPOT

The Nazis have adapted infiltration to the armored column. The Panzerdivision plunges in where the enemy is weakest, and its spearhead of heavy tanks keeps right on plunging, unmindful of exposed flanks. There is a danger that the enemy will close in behind the tanks, cutting them off. In the last few days the French have tried to do just that.

But however novel the tactics, Nazi strategy is essentially orthodox. The perfectly conventional objective is destruction of the enemy force by capture of its supply and communication centers and by encirclement. The use of warplanes as long range field artillery and the speed with which the armored column can advance have made the achievement of this object easier, once a breakthrough is forced. And that is precisely what happened during those hectic weeks in May. Retreat of any kind, including the strategic variety, from the fast-moving Panzerdivisionen is difficult because the defending troops do not often have time to climb on board their trucks. Tank versus man on foot is no race.

Heavily armed as they are, not even the Panzerdivisionen can carry out a quick frontal attack on powerful fixed fortifications. But the Nazis have a solution in the case of isolated forts like Liege in Belgium or Maubeuge and Mezieres on the Franco-Belgian border: they send the Panzerdivisionen around them, reducing them to impotent islands in a Nazi sea. A fast-moving column is particularly well suited to this maneuver.

German military operations are more carefully detailed in advance than those of the Allies. This, however, does not prevent the Nazis from systematically exploiting the inherent flexibility of the assault column. Fed a constant stream of information from dive bombers and air and motorcycle scouts cooperating closely with the column spearhead, unit commanders are under orders to switch their attack to whatever openings are offered. If that involves a change in their detailed plans, headquarters need not be consulted. Only the general objective must be kept in view.

German commanders have pondered longer and more deeply than any others in western Europe the grievous blunders their own predecessors and the Allied generals committed in World War I. One of the most far-reaching was General Kluck's boner in pushing his advancing army too far ahead of his supply train, which was blocked by the surprisingly stiff resistance of the Liege forts. The half-starved condition of Kluck's troops had a hand in the defeat at the Marne. Hitler's engineers, therefore, under the direction of express highway builder Fritz Todt, have spent years over the immensely greater problem involved in supplying the rapidly moving, far more heavily armed forces of today. They have developed a number of ideas so simple that Allied supply officers ought to be kicking themselves for not having thought of them first. Lakes of fuel for tanks and planes are brought up by pipelines. The loss of fuel if a pipeline is hit is obviously greater than if a truck is blasted; but an eight-inch pipe is a very small target. Modern trenching machinery enables extremely rapid burial of the pipe. Food supplies are transported by a very large number of independent kitchen trucks, each carrying food for several days. Munitions are handled chiefly by trucks.

### ELEMENT OF SURPRISE

The Germans are the first to use Panzerdivisionen in a major war. It is interesting to note that they employed them on a large scale right away. (There are ten to twelve mechanized columns in the Reichswehr and half of them took part in the Flanders-Picardy campaign.) The Nazis thereby avoided a pitfall of the first world war—that of using a new weapon on too small a scale at the start and thereby losing the elements of decisiveness and surprise. (This happened to poison gas and the tank, the two most important 1914-18 military inventions.)

These facts explain, I think, the basis for the striking Nazi successes in the last few weeks. In themselves, however, they leave one question unanswered: can mechanized forces win wars, and, more specifically, can the air force and the Panzerdivisionen win this war for the Nazis? This requires more than a few lines to answer. But the fact remains that, however, splendidly organized her forces are, Germany is not gifted with enough resources to wage a long war. The air force and the Panzerdivisionen are both organized with these limitations in mind: they must win before autumn. If not, though years may pass before they are finally beaten, the chance of victory will begin fading.

GERALD GRIFFIN, JR.

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# Credits That Lead to War

## FDR uses the Export-Import Bank for imperialist penetration. It is also valuable in circumventing the Johnson act. The admissions of Big Business.

WHILE the tanks spout fire and steel in France, American business is gorgeously excited. As insiders in the financial district put it, "The Street fears a short war." For the big chance has finally come.

Big business in the United States has set two major economic goals for itself in this war. The first is to grab as much of the world's markets as it can while its principal rivals, Great Britain, Germany, and Japan, are otherwise engaged. The second is to profit from the war directly by aiding England and France. The two aims are really one. The ambition of finance capital in the United States is to achieve domination of the world's markets. Putting Great Britain in our debt will help. Enabling the Allies to defeat Germany will destroy a dangerous rival.

What the American people have not yet fully understood is that this horror in Europe is the culmination of the greatest trade war in history. From 1933 on it was Great Britain who was being squeezed out while the United States and Germany forged ahead. In 1929 the United States had 14 percent of the total world trade. By 1932 our share had fallen to 11 percent. That meant disaster, because world trade as a whole had dropped by 43 percent. You and I helped pay for the comeback, and by 1937 the share of the United States had shot up to over 20 percent of all the world's trade.

### WHY WE'RE PAYING FOR IT

You and I helped pay for it because American investors had had their fingers well toasted in the business of making loans to foreign governments and sinking money into foreign enterprises. First there were the war loans and the post-Armistice loans. On Jan. 1, 1940, these totaled, with interest, over $13,000,000,000. All we have received in repayment so far has been less than $3,000,000,000. And you can kiss the rest good-by. Then there was the lending spree that started so joyously in 1919 and collapsed with a dismal thud in 1930. There were some 1,782 issues of foreign "securities" floated in the United States during those years, with a total nominal capital of $12,108,988,000. But by Dec. 31, 1935, of all the European loans 49 percent were in default, and 77 percent of all the Latin American!

Some reader may want to remind Walter Lippmann of his remark in *The United States in World Affairs* that these countries were borrowing "not only to finance public utilities, some self-supporting and some not, but also to balance budgets, stabilize currencies, build strategic railways and ports, and even to erect fortifications and buy munitions." That's how the Mannerheim Line was built.

With so sour a record it is no wonder that American finance capital has insisted that the government must advance the loans. After all, that's the surest way of making the people pay. We paid for their "mistakes" in domestic investment through the Reconstruction Finance Corp. Now we are paying for their muscling-in on foreign markets through the Export-Import Bank.

In the 1936 report of the Export-Import Bank the statement is made that "the practice of the bank has been to offer credit terms in specific cases approaching those available to foreign competitors . . . and in some cases the bank has agreed to assume a portion of the risk without recourse to the American manufacturer or exporter." In fact, the bank "has increased its participation up to 65 percent of the credit so extended." That, you will observe, reduced the risk of American manufacturers very considerably.

### EXPORT-IMPORT BANK

Of all the agencies of the Roosevelt administration that are now being converted to wartime functions, the Export-Import Bank deserves special attention. We have already seen it in action with its loans to Finland and the Scandinavian countries, bad banking as these turned out. Its principal activities up to the outbreak of the war were short-term credits to American exporters of agricultural commodities and medium and long-term credits for the export of industrial products.

The Export-Import Bank was one of the devices provided by the Roosevelt administration to help American business regain the markets it had lost in the years following the crash of '29, and conquer new territories. Battling against quota systems, "protected" areas, currency devaluation, and barter, American business called for federal aid.

In his annual report for 1937 Warren Lee Pierson, Export-Import Bank president, said:

> While some of the practices of foreign countries go beyond anything our government should seriously undertake, it is nevertheless true that we must be alert to the necessity of cooperating with our business concerns if valuable foreign markets are not to be lost. Particular attention, I believe, should be given to transactions involving South American countries because serious inroads upon our trade in that area are being made by certain Europeans.

George La Mendola

*"Reginald tried to tell the janitor's boy the Yanks are coming."*

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He mentioned specifically the operations of Britain's Export Credit Department with its fund of $250,000,000, the Japanese government guarantees on export credits, and similar aid furnished by Germany, France, Belgium, and Poland.

Roosevelt's aid to big business bore profitable results. By 1936 exports from the United States were 52 percent higher than in 1932, and by 1938 they were 92 percent above the 1932 figures. The operations of the Export-Import Bank, of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements, and government credits pushed American business steadily ahead. Steadily Great Britain was being shoved out, but Germany kept gaining and provided a potentially dangerous rival. What made German competition even more fearsome were the extremely favorable long-term credits which the Nazi foreign trade monopoly extended and the growing investments of German capital in lucrative enterprises in South America and elsewhere, to say nothing of their political activities abroad.

LATIN AMERICA

The outbreak of the war eliminated Germany as an active competitor in the markets the United States covets. The Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce announced on May 6 that the first six months of the war increased American exports to Latin America by 54 percent over the corresponding period of 1938-39. It is noteworthy that the products involved in this increase were all included in the lists of German exports to Latin America before the war and all are also important in the English export trade. The efforts of the State Department to secure unanimous condemnation of German invasions have the additional motive of preparing for the seizure of all German investments in Latin America when and if the United States is dragged into this war.

In order to attach the Latin American countries more closely to Wall Street the United States has taken the initiative in the creation of the Inter-American Bank in which all of the countries south of the Rio Grande have been invited to participate. This new bank will tie all of Latin America securely to the dollar, facilitate their trade with the United States, make possible the extension of huge credits to South American nations, and discourage British and Japanese efforts to horn in on the party.

Neither the Neutrality Act nor the Johnson act can halt loans or credits to the Allies by the Export-Import Bank. Big business knows this. In the New York *Times* of May 7 Mr. A. P. Giannini, head of the Bank of America and Mussolini medalist, is quoted as saying that

> lending to Europe has started already through the Export-Import Bank. It will be an easy matter to boost the capital of the bank to cover vast loans abroad. . . . Already the Johnson act is being evaded . . . and I believe nothing will be done to halt further extension of credit through this channel.

Coming from the founder of the fourth largest bank in the United States this is confirmation aplenty.

More cynical but equally to the point was the comment by *Business Week* in its issue of April 20:

> Any proposals to repeal the Johnson act so as to permit loans to belligerents—loans which no one would expect to be repaid—would be very bad political medicine this fall. No one will be found advocating them. Republicans will vie with Democrats in beating their breasts, telling their constituents that never-never-never will they vote to bring this country closer to Europe's war.
>
> Don't let it fool you. It will be the same baloney served up by both parties in 1916, when they alternated in denouncing each other—one week for being pro-German, the next for wanting to get us into the war on the side of the Allies. In fact the baloney will be much thinner, for, to be fair, last time most politicians on both sides did not imagine we would get into the war five months after election. This time a majority in both Senate and House know we are going to help the Allies financially if the war lasts long enough. They know it, despite the fact that both the Johnson act and the Neutrality law stand in the way of any such help.
>
> . . . Outlook: No one thinks the situation ripe yet. So it will be hush-hush until after election. Look for legislation opening the way for loans to be introduced in January, when Congress convenes —no matter who is elected in November.

At the rate Roosevelt is speeding into this war that prediction of post-election generosity may prove faulty.

Nor is the Export-Import Bank averse to helping Hitler when there are profits to be made out of it. Take American cotton exports to Italy. For the first six months of the war Italian imports of American cotton were valued at $20,512,000, or more than double the imports during the same six months in 1938-39. According to the May 19 memorandum of the Division of Regional Information, Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, these recent shipments of cotton to Italy "were facilitated by credits from the Export-Import Bank." And since Italian imports, so greatly expanded by the war, are actually part of Germany's raw material supplies, it is clear that the Export-Import Bank is lending its aid to American business to make profits from both sides.

Mischa Richter

There's still another use to which the Export-Import Bank can be put. Roosevelt can employ it to win the support of the farmers for credits to the Allies. American agriculture has been suffering from the war. The Allies are buying their foodstuffs and other farm products elsewhere. By financing shipments of agricultural commodities to the Allies, the bank can offer the farmers the aid they have long sought while, at the same time, it helps break Britain's hold upon its present sources of wheat, cotton, and other raw materials, particularly the Argentine and the dominions.

The May 18 issue of *Business Week* confirms this possibility when it says:

> Under secret consideration is an extra session of Congress before election with the President asking for amendments of the Johnson and Neutrality laws so as to permit credits to the Allies for the purchase of American farm products. Pressure for this will be very strong, it is hinted, long before there is any sign that the administration is back of the move.

Thus, while funds for relief and housing are slashed, the earnings of the American people, yours and mine, are being mortgaged through the Export-Import Bank to finance the drive of American big business toward world dominion and toward war.

FRANK J. WALLACE.

## Italics Ours

"MEMBERS of Congress should be wary of attempts of special pleaders to translate their private ambitions into essentials of national defense. The fundamental test of a measure still is its inherent value to the country's welfare. Obviously, enactment of the Walter-Logan bill, which would substitute the judgment of the courts for that of administrative agencies, instead of aiding production would break down all government regulation. Repeal or emasculation of the National Labor Relations Act, far from helping industry to expand, would foment strikes. Passage of the Neely bill to provide for federal inspection of mines would not reduce mining efficiency but would require the adoption of modern methods. The Wagner-Steagall Housing Bill would contribute inherent strength to the morale of large sections of the population by combating intolerable living conditions. *All these statements would be true if there were no European war.*"—*Editorial in the New York "Post," June 4.*

## Kentucky Cricketeer

"WHEN Senator Lundeen quoted Andrew Jackson to the effect that, if negotiations failed, it would be proper for this country to seize the British and French possessions because of their default on debts to the United States, Senator Barkley of Kentucky protested that, with the French and British fighting for their lives, this would not be 'good sportsmanship.' "—*Washington dispatch by Paul Ward of the Baltimore "Sun," May 20.*

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## *Mussolini Marches*

ITALY entered the war because Germany seemed to be winning in France. Like Hitler, Mussolini reckons upon victory this summer. Neither one can fight a long war; both of them expect to consolidate their gains in anticipation of trouble with the United States. Characteristically, the Italians moved along the lines of least resistance. Il Duce is obviously discomfited as well as attracted by the prospect of the German victory. Soviet pressure unquestionably kept him out of the Balkans, thus preserving one of the weakest and most heterogeneous areas in Europe from the horrors of the conflict. Mussolini obviously desires to avoid conflict with Turkey. It will be a serious blow to him if the Turks implement their alliance with Great Britain and the struggle washes into the eastern Mediterranean and up to the shores of the Balkans. Mussolini's assurances to Egypt imply a desire to avoid battle for the North African colonies. A defeated France would cede them anyhow, the Italians reckon. But Il Duce's pledges probably aren't worth much. What happens in Spain is still unclear: certainly a struggle for Gibraltar would involve Franco, with unforeseeable consequences for the Spanish internal situation. The Italian action was not unexpected; it signifies a new stage in the European conflict. It means an important addition of strength to Germany. In a long war, however, this asset may become a liability.

Our sympathy naturally goes out to the French and Italian peoples: for the former this latest development represents historic vengeance for the Laval agreement of 1935 handing over Ethiopia, for the Munich pact and the betrayal of Spain. For the Italian people this is the price of eighteen years of fascist rule. History demands its pound of flesh. It is an ugly, bitter, unhappy sight.

## *American Repercussion*

THE Mediterranean has now been brought into the war zone. Under the Neutrality Act, American shipping is debarred, a lucrative trade with Italy has been destroyed. But Italian belligerency has a deeper significance for the United States. It has given the President the occasion for taking the country a long step closer to the conflict. Preparedness and unlimited assistance to Britain and France have now become official features of American policy. From the President's speech to the University of Virginia commencement it is clear that no formal declarations will be necessary before the United States is really at war. The President revealed the sequence of his demarches to keep Italy from fighting against the side which the President favors. Apparently Mr. Roosevelt was prepared to offer Il Duce a very great deal, and prepared to get it for him from the Allied powers. Here is a trend which the war is accelerating: namely, the emergence of the United States as the center of gravity of the imperialist world order. French and British diplomacy has become so dependent upon the United States that its President conducts the diplomatic discussions for London and Paris.

## *Churchill's Old Age*

CHURCHILL'S speech on June 4 emphasized the same trend. The British prime minister's remarks dealt with the defeat in Flanders. Beyond that he admitted that defeat as a world power stared Britain in the face. In his final paragraph he promised to do battle, if necessary from Canada itself, until "in God's good time the New World, with all its power and might, sets forth to the liberation and rescue of the Old." This is quite a pretty pass for the empire on which the sun never sets. Basically, it is both an invitation that the United States come in and a recognition that American imperialism has already succeeded to a primary position in the capitalist world. Churchill's pledge to fight Germany from this continent does not necessarily mean that Germany will pursue Churchill to Canada, irrespective of what happens to the British fleet. Germany's primary objective is the unchallenged domination of Europe and the most accessible, easily defended colonies. But it does mean that for the people of the United States this war has brought the perspective of a sequence of exhaustive struggles so long as capitalist property relations maintain their hold. This war will continue until one imperialist group emerges strong enough to impose its will upon the ruins of another. Or else until the peoples of either imperialist coalition give a world example by taking issue with imperialism itself.

## *The "Week" Suppressed*

IF THE sun is setting on the British empire, twilight has already overtaken its civil liberties. Last week the British government arrested Ben Bradley, a man whom the MacDonald government sentenced to ten years at hard labor—his crime was the organization of Indian workers into labor unions. A second casualty is the *Week*, that world-famous London newsletter published by Claude Cockburn. Its latest issue appears on one mimeograph page: Mr. Cockburn has been forbidden to cable his edition to New York, and permits for mailing privileges have been denied. Mr. Cockburn had access to remarkably reliable sources of information in Britain; his judgments were almost invariably as sound as they were subtly and delightfully written. He was particularly valuable for his slant on the appeasement specialists. The inheritors of British policy have taken vengeance on one of the most trenchant critics of the Munichеers. Cockburn dug deeper into the British scene than the British tories and their Social Democrats could bear.

## *Exit Daladier*

DALADIER passes into French history, dishonored and unsung. The leader of the Radical Socialist Party was dropped from the ministry of foreign affairs to give the Reynaud Cabinet ballast. Criticism of Daladier had persisted even after the fall of his Cabinet: every Frenchman now realizes keenly how Daladier and his policies compromised the security of France. Daladier's demise is not necessarily a symbol of French determination to continue the struggle against Germany. It is a sign of a full trend toward the right. The Radical Socialist Party, the party of the peasants and the small business folk, has been severely damaged by its record of the past few years. The right, without a mandate from the people and without a base among the people, is utilizing the discomfiture of the Radical Socialists in its own bid for undisputed power. But French imperialism remains in the saddle.

## *German Communists Live*

WHAT are the German Communists doing? That's the question we are frequently asked. Last week two declarations arrived, one from Stockholm and the other from Basel, which only the *Daily Worker* saw fit to print. Both emphasize the great fight which the German Communists are carrying on against Hitler. One of them discusses the quarrel between Hitler and Thyssen, emphasizing that neither grouping has anything to offer the German people but more deprivations and bloodshed. The manifesto from Stockholm emphasizes that the German Communists fight their "own" imperialists just as do the British and French and other Communists everywhere. Independence from, and struggle against, the bourgeoisie of every country, all of them responsible for this war, is the keynote of these documents—a powerful and challenging answer to the miserable "Communazi" slander.

## *Far Eastern Doublecross*

WAR in Europe has given Japan a diplomatic advantage altogether out of proportion to her actual economic and military resources. Japanese statesmen threaten dire things for the Philippines and the Dutch East Indies, but they invariably pledge to be good if the United States smiles upon them. Beneath the acrimony of Japanese-American relations, evidenced by the abrogation of the 1911 trade agreement, and the sharp statements by Ambassador Grew and Sec-

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retary Hull, there exists the possibility that the United States and Japan will come to terms. The Philippine high commissioner, Francis Sayre, spent some time investigating these terms in a Far Eastern "Welles mission" to Tokyo last month. Now Walter Lippmann, that Delphic oracle of American imperialism, restates a thesis he broached several times last winter: namely, that the United States must seek an agreement with Japan for the division of spheres of influence, the pacification of east Asia on a basis that will give the United States a free hand in Europe. This is a cynical, hypocritical statement that flouts the sympathy of millions of Americans for China; its purpose is to employ Japan as the gendarme for imperialism in Asia while America rescues the imperialist order in Europe. Lippmann's proposals undoubtedly have inspiration in Washington: they represent a mortal danger to China's independence. In a sense the fact that such proposals are made reveals how clearly Wall Street's spokesmen have figured out the strategy of their new imperialist responsibility, how close we are to war in the Atlantic. In the longer run nothing will have been solved. Japan's ambitions in the Pacific and on the Asiatic continent will plague us again and again. American oil, steel, and copper have kept Japan's aggression in China going. Now America's contemplated aggression in Europe will deliver millions of colonial peoples to the mercy of a Japan ruling by the grace of Washington. What would Confucius say?

## *Military Note*

THE German advance on Paris maintains its schedule. The German right wing has severed communications between Le Havre and Paris, also cutting off Rouen, the wealthy Parisian port at the estuary of the Seine. Meanwhile, German columns, fighting through the so-called Weygand fortifications, are coming down the valleys of the rivers that lead to the French capital: the Oise and the Marne. Traveling more slowly than they did through Belgium but with the same relentless pressure, the German armies approach the gates of the historic world capital of France. Operations south of Sedan and anticipated operations through Switzerland in conjunction with the Italian thrust through the Riviera place all of France in danger.

Every sign indicates that the Germans could not wait to consolidate in the Low Countries; they are putting all they have in this offensive. On the other hand, the French armies are outnumbered, suffer from lack of materials, and do not have the support of substantial British forces, with the possible exception of the Royal Air Force. Most important, the initiative lies with the other side, which is using that initiative to every advantage.

This is a battle of far-reaching significance which may prove decisive for the final outcome of the war. For the French people it means untold agony.

## *Conference on Civil Rights*

THESE are perilous times for the Bill of Rights. It bleeds from a hundred wounds inflicted by men in high places. It is this crisis of democracy that gives heartening significance to the National Conference for Constitutional Liberties which was held in Washington over the weekend of June 8. Three hundred and fifty delegates from various parts of the country took stock, pooled ideas, and worked out plans for a nationwide federation for the protection of civil liberties. A vigorous resolution held President Roosevelt "responsible for the continued violation of the laws by this department [Department of Justice] and for its stimulation of a hysteria which instead of aiding law enforcement actually is encouraging violation of the civil rights law."

Speakers at the conference included Edwin S. Smith, member of the National Labor Relations Board, who warned against fifth column hysteria and urged that America be kept out of the European war; Frances Williams, administrative secretary of the American Youth Congress; Rev. Owen A. Knox, president of the Michigan Civil Rights Federation; Harold J. Pritchett of Seattle, president of the International Woodworkers of America; James Dombrowski of Tennessee, member of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare; Max Yergan, president of the National Negro Congress; Rabbi Moses Miller, chairman of the Jewish People's Committee; Reverend Albert T. Mollegen, professor of Christian ethics at Virginia Theological Seminary; Joseph Curran, president of the National Maritime Union; Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, member of the National Committee of the Communist Party; and Rep. Frank M. Fries of Illinois.

Miss Flynn touched the core of the entire problem of civil liberties today when she said:

> The acid test of democracy in 1940 is the right of the Communist Party to exist as a lawful, legal party. And if that right is denied us, then the rights of the entire American people are in jeopardy.

## *The CIO's Program*

LISTEN to the CIO. Last week its executive board met in Washington and adopted a number of down-to-earth decisions. While a national administration hell-bent for war was moving to destroy labor rights and democracy, the CIO acted to strengthen democracy and the hard-won rights of the working people. The legislative report approved by the board is a platform for progressives that contrasts sharply with present Roosevelt policies and trends. The report opposes the anti-alien bills and the administration move to transfer the Immigration Bureau from the Department of Labor to the Department of Justice. It hits at the efforts to emasculate the National Labor Relations Act, the Wage-Hour Act and the Walsh-Healey act. It attacks the soak-the-poor tax proposals to finance the armaments program. It demands elimination of the Reynolds amendments to the La Follette Oppressive Labor Practices Bill which would bar Communists from employment in private industry and limit the number of employed aliens to 10 percent. It urges expansion of the low-rent housing program, supports the Anti-Lynching Bill and the Geyer anti-poll tax bill, and reaffirms the CIO program of old age pensions of $60 a month starting at the age of sixty. And, last but not least, it takes a fall out of the fifth column clamor generated "under the pretext of strengthening our national defense."

Listen to the CIO again. The executive board voted to launch a nationwide drive to organize the aircraft industry. It decided to send two delegates to the conference of the Latin-American Federation of Labor in Mexico City. It condemned the bill introduced in the House to deport Harry Bridges. It demanded that WPA be expanded to provide three million jobs, that WPA wages be raised, the Federal Theater Project be restored, and discriminatory provisions in the pending WPA bill be removed. The board also adopted an excellent report of the director of its unemployment division, Ralph Hetzel, Jr., which declared that armaments expenditures "are a drain upon the national wealth and the welfare of the people as a whole."

And then a cog slipped, and the CIO executive board adopted a resolution on national defense that is ambiguous, to say the least. By its omissions more than by explicit statements, this resolution tends to play into the hands of the Roosevelt administration. "We are prepared to lend practical, wholesome, and feasible cooperation in any undertaking to protect this nation and prepare for national defense." Certainly labor must stand for true national defense—defense of the interests of the American people with arms, if necessary—by a real people's government. But the fact is that the administration is using the slogan of national defense as a cover for policies that lead to aggressive war. This the resolution fails to point out. All to the good are the insistence that labor's rights must be preserved and the warning that armaments economy is no solution for the unemployment problem. But the rights of labor and of the unemployed are today jeopardized primarily by the Roosevelt war program. Only by unequivocally opposing that program and assuming leadership in the fight for peace can the CIO's own program of defending labor's rights and democracy be fulfilled.

## *William Green and M-Day*

WHAT would the National Association of Manufacturers do without William Green? The AFL's chief hierarch has got the House to pass an anti-labor bill virtually written by the NAM and the US Chamber of Commerce. We refer, of course, to the Smith committee's amendments to the Wagner act, endorsed by Green in a letter to Representative Smith. One amendment encourages craft union raids on industrial unions even where collective bargaining contracts already exist. Another, the so-called "Ripper" amendment,

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substitutes a new, three-man agency for the present Labor Board and separates the board's prosecuting and judicial functions. This fine device for producing confusion, red tape, and inefficiency is supplemented by an amendment subjecting the board's decisions and findings to review by the US Court of Appeals. Technically employers are still forbidden by the act to coerce or intimidate workers against joining unions but it would be easy to get around this via the amendment permitting employers "expression of opinion." Whatever benefits would remain in the act are denied workers charged with "violence"—with exact definitions of the word left to employers and their spies. Green and Smith allowed Representative Allen of Pennsylvania to supply the anti-foreign born touch with an amendment permitting employers to refuse to deal with "aliens."

For all this booty the NAM, through Green, paid the small price of revising and deleting some minor Smith amendments. A six-month limitation on back pay to reinstated workers was extended to a year, and the Wagner act's definition of "collective bargaining" was preserved in its present form. Green could afford one or two pro-labor gestures—he had secured from Smith the amendment dearest to reactionary AFL leaders, the craft union provision. For the sake of such a provision he had formerly supported the Norton amendments against Smith's. Congressman Norton's "compromise" amendments were originally sponsored by the administration, but Sam Rayburn, the administration's head man in the House, said "Aye" to the Smith-Green blitzkrieg. Mr. Rayburn apparently has no doubts about what his White House chief wants. Looking toward M-Day, Roosevelt could ask nothing better than this conversion of "labor's Magna Charta" into a measure to deprive organized labor—AFL as well as CIO—of the greater part of its strength.

## *Death and More Taxes*

CHAIRMAN Doughton of the House Ways and Means Committee has announced that plans are being made to carry out Roosevelt's promise of "no war millionaires." Don't get excited, anybody. Nothing hasty will be done. Imposing an excess-profits tax is a "complicated and exhaustive legislative project," says Mr. Doughton. Treasury experts will have to study the matter. Perhaps they can prepare a bill for introduction at the next session of Congress—after the elections. *Maybe* it will be made retroactive to apply to the calendar year 1940.

Much simpler is the business of taxing the poor to pay the armaments bill. It took the committee less than a week to draft a bill lowering the income tax exemption from $1,000 to $800 for single persons and from $2,500 to $2,000 for the married. In other words, if you are single and make $16 a week, or married and make $38.50, you would have to file an income tax statement. The bill would force income taxes from over two million more people than now pay them and result in an additional revenue of about $82,000,000. This is $5,500,000 more than the amount to be derived from an additional corporate levy of only 1 percent. And remember, these new taxes on low income groups are in addition to the 10 percent income "supertax" (the same for all groups, down to the lowest) which we discussed editorially last week. They are also in addition to the higher excise taxes (on cigarettes and tobacco, gasoline, oil, beer and liquor) which are consumer levies and would account for some 30 percent of the revenue anticipated from passage of the Ways and Means bill.

No wonder the bill has been reported to the House under a special rule barring any amendments except those offered by the Ways and Means Committee. Otherwise, some progressive congressman might propose hiking the inheritance and gift taxes, or removing the tax exemption from government securities—or closing tax loopholes to force Mr. Morgan and his friends to pay their share. These things have already been urged by the CIO executive board. But FDR's idea is to cut many non-military appropriations 10 percent. It isn't surprising, in view of the administration's attitude, that Jerome Frank of the Securities and Exchange Commission is urging application of a variation of the notorious Keynes plan to American workers.

## *Out of the Bag*

LISTEN to Howard T. Lewis, professor of marketing and director of research of the Graduate School of Business Administration at Harvard University. According to the New York *Times*, June 9, he told a convention of purchasing agents that the entire purchasing mobilization program is being sold under the wrong name. It is not a defense, but a preparedness program, he contended, and he could see no reason why the sponsors of it should not be frank with the people. Said Mr. Lewis:

> There is sufficient reason in the developments abroad to propose this mobilization program on its own merits, which, in effect, are that this country is getting ready for war, sooner or later, and not merely anticipating an attack on the United States from Germany.

## *World of Today*

"UNDER glass, near the Westinghouse Time Capsule [at the World's Fair] on Hotfoot Heath, are copies of newspapers and periodicals of our time. These, as you probably know, have been photographed on film to save space in the Capsule. When we came by yesterday to stare again at the original newspapers we learned that the *Daily Worker* had been removed. The Capsule guard didn't know when, or why. We were delighted, though, to see *True Stories* and *Amazing Stories* bravely bearing up in the case, under the Flushing sun."—*Meyer Berger in his column, "At the Fair," New York "Times," June 6.*


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# Waldo Frank's Little Chart

## The charming life of the sages comes to an end—a dead end, Isidor Schneider writes. The mystics and reality. "Pathetic treaties of surrender and subjection."

CHART FOR ROUGH WATER, OUR ROLE IN A NEW WORLD, *by Waldo Frank. Doubleday, Doran. $1.75.*

For the case of people like Waldo Frank and Lewis Mumford, who have been troubling the waters in the liberal ponds, it is well to look back to the predepression years when they led dulcet and super-respectable lives as American sages.

In those flawed but fat years when the good life could be lived on the material, if not the spiritual, plane under an apparently stable capitalism, the sages gave counsel, were an "influence." In their after-lecture retinues they could see their larger followings, the readers of their magazine articles and their books.

Since the American petty bourgeoisie at that time felt it could afford to take some time out for culture, for the arrived sage there was magazine and lecture-market nutrition as well as the ornaments of prestige. Theirs, they could feel, was a good work. They were elevating the taste of their fellow countrymen and publishing patterns of the good life—even though it was a life which few Americans, to use business slang, were good for. This they were accomplishing without the sweat of organizing, without the constraints of a formulated program of action, and without the indignity of action.

Then came the rude year 1929; and after it the rude irruption into their consciousness of the militant working class movement with its insistence on organization and action and its formulated programs and its irreverent and positive Marxist literature. The charming life of the sages, as pictured above, came to an end.

Logically they should have directed all their anger at the capitalist system. As it had led so many other groups to a dead end so it had now brought the sages, too, to a dead end. For a time they did spatter a lot of ink—Waldo Frank still spatters a little—over the iniquities of capitalism. But their deepest annoyance and anger was reserved for the labor militants and finally for the Soviet Union. In the current reactionary onslaught they are letting fly with their soft-tomato critiques.

One cause of their anger is understandable. The militant labor movement introduced new moral and cultural values into American life, values based on organization and action. A new good life was projected, a collective good life in a justly organized social system in place of the individual good life of the perfected self. This also implied new criteria of leadership—organizing skill, readiness for action, committee planning, with its merger of individual wills when united decision and action were necessary; all of which the sages found irksome and demeaning. Since the displacing ideas and the displacing leadership came chiefly from the Communist Party the sages have found it hard to forgive the Communist Party.

Feeling impelled, or compelled, to go with the trend for a time, the sages made contacts with the militant labor movement, approaching it like autonomous powers negotiating an alliance. Says Waldo Frank:

> In my journal of those days I wrote: "I collaborate with the revolutionists, not expecting them to understand me: the bad logic of their dogmatic empiricism prevents that. But I must serve and understand *them:* and part of their service is to let them exploit me."

How many ranges of arrogance lie in this statement, which the author may have considered an expression of humility! He comes to the revolutionists, not to join them but to "collaborate." He is too profound to be understood by the revolutionists but he will condescend to understand them; and he is such a huge accumulation of good-example and influence that he can afford to let the revolutionists nibble at the heap—"exploit" him!

The indifference of the labor movement to Mr. Frank's "service" on such terms must have been a rude shock to him, and it is no surprise to hear querulous and almost vengeful notes in his book.

I might have been less irreverent to the sages out of respect for their former services in the cause of American culture, but Mr. Mumford's recent action and Mr. Frank's new book push that past too far back.

Mr. Mumford, it will be recalled, recently chose to "collaborate" with professional factionalists and with disrupters motivated by mean suspicions of "Communist control" and jealousy of a devoted and active leadership in an unsuccessful attempt to split and destroy a magnificent organization, the Artists Congress of America. The sage in action proved to be a sage in hysterics.

Mr. Frank's book sets out to be a program of action, and the sage at program making appears to be a sage working out a streamlined form of navel-contemplation. The book is miscalled *Chart for Rough Water.* There is nothing in it of the simple accuracy the word chart implies. It is confused, contradictory, and tormentingly dull. Its confusion and dullness are compounded of a number of ingredients. First, mysticism. Since it is a characteristic of mystics to redefine words to their own taste the hapless reader has to learn the special meanings and keep them disentangled from the more general meanings.

*"By gad, Colonel, have you resigned from the 'New Republic' yet?"*

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Secondly, anticipating criticism from realistic and logical people, Mr. Frank sets out to demonstrate that he has their trivial erudition too and strews names and terminology in layers through his book. Unfortunately the weight lent by this demonstration is mostly the weight of dullness. Thirdly, Mr. Frank's procedure is to argue by adjectives. If he juxtaposes a disapproving adjective to anything Mr. Frank seems to believe he has settled its hash.

Finally, Mr. Frank wants everybody to get religion but doesn't say so right out. And the roundabout phrases, "God in us," "sense of the divine," "the universal," "the cosmic," along with his old standby, "the sense of the whole," are wearying. One senses in Mr. Frank's new preachment, though it is a natural enough development from his own previous books, the influence of the neo-Thomists and contemporary Catholic mystics.

His chart begins with an analysis of the immediate present where men, finding themselves insecure and outraged, are ready to accept tyranny because it promises security and war because it offers "honor." Thus fascism came to Europe and can come to America, because the American people too are humiliated and insecure.

What is the cause of man's want, insecurity, and humiliation? On the material side it is the injustice of our economic system; on the spiritual side it is our violation of the Great Tradition. What is the great tradition?

> Its birth was on the Mediterranean shores. And before it spread in Europe through Rome and through the Spaniard and Puritan it came to the Americas, it already had many forms: Egypt, Judea, Greece. Yet its essence has never changed. ***It is the knowledge that individual man partakes of the divine, which is his way of naming the universal and of naming it good and of naming it his. It is the knowledge that his life has purpose and direction because God is in him.*** . . . By the sixteenth century, the dawn of the modern era, certain growths in its expression, in its theories and theology, above all a cancerous hypertrophy of certain of its phases, began to stifle the great tradition and threatened to dim it altogether. . . . *The individual soul, fed and grown great by the awareness of the divine within it, believed it could dispense with the divine.* It had learned freedom within religious Necessity —the one true freedom. Now it decided to destroy Necessity. The ego was *its own,* it decided; its efficient cause would no longer be God or Cosmos but self-served by self-sufficient will and reason. . . . This rebellion of the ego, grown great by the truth of the Great Tradition, *against* the Great Tradition, brought about man's humiliation. This fall we are witnessing today in Europe. [Italics Mr. Frank's.]

This is how the rebellion of the aspiring manhood of Europe against serfdom, the rebellion of the aspiring human mind against institutionalized ignorance is befouled. Mr. Frank in his attack on the rational is prepared to exalt the charlatan, when he wears mystic robes, over a courageous and seminal mind. "The medieval astrologer with his superstitious 'system' had hold of a myth—*in that he at least guessed the interrelation of every birth and the world's farthest reaches*—more true than all the hundred volumes of Voltaire." (Italics Mr. Frank's.)

A czarist censor prohibited the circulation of the book, *Reflexes of the Brain,* by the great physiologist Ivan Sechenov and there is an uncomfortable resemblance to Mr. Frank's assumption in the phrasing of the censor's indictment: "This materialistic theory reduces even the best of men to the level of a machine. It undermines the moral formations of society and thereby destroys the religious doctrine of eternal life." Probably to that censor a Rasputin had more truth in him than Sechenov, just as to Mr. Frank a medieval astrologer had more truth in him than Voltaire.

Now let us come to Mr. Frank's solution:

> The value of Christian medieval Europe was supernatural salvation by grace. That is the simple Thesis of hopeful, helpless individuals. The value of the modern world is earthly well-being by reason of social laws and of techniques: that is the simple Antithesis of adolescent individuals feeling their strengths against the world, ignoring the depths of self, tragic and divine. The Thesis value set us forth in life; fed us energy and dream. The Antithesis value is transitional; it helped man to possess the body of his world—the Globe. . . . Unless this Antithesis moves into Synthesis it will destroy us. For independently it is no norm for human life. Man doth not live by bread alone.
>
> What is the Synthesis value? Let us see. The essence of the Thesis remains: the eternal is in man and man's need to be saved is really his need to *live* the eternal in his nature. . . .
>
> The Antithesis value of well-being marks the reaction from the Thesis. Man's home, it replies, is here on earth; let him conquer the earth and establish his salvation here; let him be happy here. . . . Cease to isolate this Antithesis value of well-being; merge its stress on freedom, mastery of earth, into the salvation impulse and grace intuition of the Thesis; preserve reason as a generalizing instrument of control and organization. . . . You have the Synthesis.

And that is Mr. Frank's *Chart for Rough Water!*

Among other elaborations on this theme appear some astonishing comments on literature. There is an offensive dismissal of Hemingway in Mr. Frank's favorite terms of sexual development. But still more offensive are his aspersions on *Grapes of Wrath.*

Steinbeck's novel is impressive for the dignity and courage of its characters. Steinbeck does not little-man them, or Bunyanize them, or holy-martyrize them. He does not climb to some comfortable attitude from which he can get them into a chosen perspective. His focus is right in their midst. Thus the people are seen in the proportions of their aspirations and struggle and these, we see, are epic proportions. We have in this book an unprecedented thing in American literature, an epic of plain people. A writer has appeared who can see the epic of the struggle of the oppressed. And therefore he can write of the Joads as Homer wrote of his Greek nobles, as the other writers of Mr. Frank's "Great Tradition," whose names Mr. Frank speaks, quaking, wrote of their characters. Here, if


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Mr. Frank were fit to see it, is a writer and a human passion bearing the signs of the indestructibility of human dignity. Everything works to grind down, to thwart, to deform the humanity of the Joads, but their humanity remains "whole," to use Mr. Frank's fetish word; and oppression brings them to that "sense of the whole" that frightens Mr. Frank, the sense of the unity of the working class and the need for that unity to acquire a body and strength, in organization.

But all this escapes the self-appointed watchman and summoner of human dignity who writes these sightless and repulsive phrases:

> These men and women are presented as isolate, blind, animal existences. . . . There is no hint in their portrayal of human dignity. . . . The economic humiliation of the Joads by their exploiters is as nothing compared to their spiritual humiliation by their author. . . . Although the author may believe he was writing a humanitarian tract, like so many of our radicals, he truly possessed the fascist contempt for man and was wreaking a sadist vengeance, unconsciously, upon his characters.

*Reading such mouthings, one wonders what* human dignity is, according to Mr. Frank. One begins to suspect that it is one of man's major humiliations, the humiliation of the dark, of ritualized ignorance, of Mumbo Jumbo.

*In effect* Waldo Frank's proposal is that we make one of those pathetic treaties of surrender and subjection to the unknown that peoples have sometimes made in times of exhaustion and terror, abnegating the rights and dignity of the human mind and spirit and crawling into the nearest caves.

Pondering this painful book, one begins to see it as a halting restatement of the Catholic theory of Church and State. Mr. Frank may locate his Utopia in the mind or the soul or the universe; but the roads he points to lead to Rome.

ISIDOR SCHNEIDER.

## Reconstruction

THE NEGRO IN CONGRESS, 1870-1901, *by Samuel D. Smith. University of North Carolina Press. $2.50.*

HAD Dr. Smith condensed this book into one large factual table presenting his data under such heads as name, dates of birth and death, occupation, terms in office, bills introduced or favored, and bills opposed, the reader would have had in handy form those things of positive value which the work has to offer.

As it is, however, the author presents interpretations and passes judgments which are uniformly in line with those of the bourbon school of mythologists, stemming, in the case of the Reconstruction period, from the work of the late Professor Dunning and his disciples. Indeed, one of the latter, Professor Hamilton, writes the preface in which the work's tone is set by the assertion that "intelligent and informed people" no longer defend radical Reconstruction.

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Similarly, when the Negro congressmen advocate civil rights, an extension of the suffrage and of educational opportunities, the end of debt slavery, the granting of public relief, the outlawry of lynching, and the enforcement of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution, they are being "partisan" (pp. 23, 47, 74), or are being "vindictive" toward, or attempting to "humiliate" the South (pp. 17, 49). When the Negro congressman from North Carolina, Mr. G. H. White, states the facts that rape and accusations of rape are rarely even the avowed causes of lynchings and that the violation of Negro women by white men is common, he is dismissed as being "offensive" (p. 128). When the oligarchic terror succeeds in ending civil rights, disfranchising the masses, and establishing peonage, Dr. Smith tells us that these acts represent the restoration of "home rule" (p. 90), as personified no doubt by the pompous puppets Bilbo, Dies, George, Cox, Reynolds, et al.

The era of Reconstruction is one of the most interesting and important in the life of the South and a basic study of that period must start with the articles and books of DuBois, Gottlieb, and Allen, not one of whom, incidentally, is so much as mentioned by Dr. Smith.

HERBERT APTHEKER.

## The Case of Del Vayo

FREEDOM'S BATTLE, *by J. Alvarez Del Vayo. Alfred A. Knopf. $3.00.*

FOR nearly three years the Spanish people waged a desperate and heroic struggle against the forces of Spanish, German, Italian, French, British, and American imperialism. The defense of Madrid electrified the peoples of the most distant lands. It resulted in a great outpouring of sympathy and support.

But the only governments which, in the interests of justice and the outlawing of fascist aggression, gave the Spanish people diplomatic and material support were Mexico and the Soviet Union. The great imperialist powers in their several ways, by direct attack and with the aid of Social Democrats and Fifth Columnists, slowly and with difficulty tightened the knot that strangled the Spanish republic. They handed the Spanish people over to the butcher Franco, keeping him, however, firmly tied to their own imperialist interests.

In his attempt to tell the story of these momentous months Senor Del Vayo labors under a fatal disadvantage. He feels, apparently, that he must throughout defend the role of the Second International. Even Del Vayo, as a "Socialist," recognizes that whitewash just can't be made thick enough for such a job. But it can never be said that he doesn't try hard.

Any foreign supporter of the Spanish people, however devoted, must step back before the right of a Spaniard to speak out first and most bitterly against the despicable Blum. But


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hearken to the "Socialist" foreign minister of the Spanish republic:

"For Socialists it was especially disagreeable that it was M. Leon Blum who, as head of the French government, sponsored this scheme ["Non-Intervention"]." "Disagreeable" seems a singularly inadequate word for an epic example of "Socialist" betrayal.

Blum is "not absolved" from the "political responsibility he incurred." But it would be "unjust" not to point out how deeply he suffered when he realized his "mistake." Del Vayo was a personal witness to his "grief," his "anguish," his "deep sensitivity"!

And what, in the name of humanity, about the deep sensitivity of the Spanish people? What about *their* grief and *their* anguish? Who is this person who dares throw in the face of his countrymen his pity for the man who denied them food and arms, who loosed fascist bombers over their cities?

Who but a brother Social Democrat would dare similarly to distort policies and events in such a manner as to shield Caballero? Del Vayo himself agreed to the removal of General Asensio because of the "suspicion he inspired in a large section of the troops." (Although absolutely no reason for this "suspicion" is mentioned, many readers will remember Asensio as the man who betrayed Malaga to the Italians.) Nevertheless, Caballero's stubborn defense of his favorite general "had a certain greatness." And it was this, not the anger of the people at the dictatorial and defeatist conduct of the war, that was responsible for Caballero's downfall. It appears that the ensuing Negrin government was a signal, not (as all the world knows) for a tremendous strengthening of the Loyalist cause, but for "a vast campaign against the Communists." Such a campaign there was—and a most bitter campaign against the new government, too—both to a very considerable degree led by this same Caballero. But his fellow "Socialist," Del Vayo, does not consider this fact worthy of mention, and Caballero disappears from the picture at the time of his downfall.

Another leading "Socialist" is even more wantonly neglected. Del Vayo sneers at the "exclamation of horror" from the Communist Central Committee at the "mere pronouncement" of Besteiro's name as a possible successor to Negrin. He does not mention how well justified this exclamation later proved to be, for this is the one and only mention of Besteiro. The work of the Madrid Junta, which split the unity of the people and presented the city and the country to Franco, proceeds, according to Del Vayo, entirely without the assistance of this arch-traitor.

Even Del Vayo's modest account of his own very considerable contributions to the Spanish republic is soaked through and through with those weaknesses and confusions which have resulted in his increasingly reactionary position. Evidently he never really understood the needs and demands of the people of Spain; he always distrusted and feared their power.


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Del Vayo totally ignores the immense international movement in support of the Spanish republic. A reason is doubtless the fact that almost none of his fellow "Socialist" leaders took any real part in it. He dare not note that Spain's bitterest enemies have been raised to the French Cabinet and that Spain's most devoted friends and supporters have been thrown into prisons and concentration camps. For how, in the face of this, could he write, "We place the victory of the Western democracies above all personal bitterness and disillusionment"?

Del Vayo knows that the Spanish refugees understand the real war aims of the French government, for they know what a genuine war for freedom is and how it is conducted. But he does not admit this. Instead, he babbles about the "gratitude which, in the humanitarian field [!], the Spanish republicans owe to France for all that she has done to help the refugees." But Del Vayo knows of the abject misery of these brave people, of the fascist treatment they have received, of the forced return of tens of thousands of them to Franco's firing squads. He knows also that the money expended by Premier Negrin's committee and by international aid organizations plus the ruthless exploitation of the Spanish labor battalions have many times repaid the French dictators for everything they have spent on the refugees.

"It was natural," writes Del Vayo, "that, upon the outbreak of war with Germany, the French authorities should find themselves faced with a many-faceted problem difficult to solve." Truer words were never written. The problem was and remains how to persuade the French people to suffer, fight, and die for their imperialist masters. Persuasion has not worked and, since the people could be forced into this fake "war for democracy" only by their being themselves robbed of all democracy, the problem has multiplied in difficulty. The "French authorities" hope to solve it now by spreading the war and involving more and more millions in the senseless and horrible slaughter. Toward this ghastly solution they are nobly and ably assisted by Del Vayo and his fellow Social Democrats in France, England, the United States, and throughout the world.

DAVID MCK. WHITE.

## Anti-War Novel

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extent aware of the forces responsible for his predicament, he has nevertheless chosen to resolve these conflicts in war.

In France, however, bored with the long period of inactivity which preceded the offensive, Winston wanders out into the no man's land between the lines to plant flowers—a symbolic act. He is wounded in the first barrage.

It is here, helpless on his back, in the midst of shell fire and machine gun bursts, that Winston attempts to transform his between-wars life experience into conscious thought. And while shrapnel and the bayonet of a German soldier gradually render his anatomical being less than human, Winston assumes his most human development. Possessing a degree of class consciousness already, he accepts his identity with his fellows. He learns what thousands now locked in combat shall learn: that the enemy lies at home, not in distant battlefields. He discovers too late the historically necessary action to resolve the dissatisfactions which sent him to France.

That was what he wanted to do, Winston told himself—go home and fight and fight, and not die here on this distant muddy field. That was what the others had to do, the young and the old, the black and the white, the Christian and the Jew, the men and the women and the children too, he thought as his lungs stopped breathing. And then there would be a tang in the air in the autumn as men pushed on to the promise in the West . . .

While this drama of pain and consciousness is unfolded, the reader is given flashbacks into the Midwestern American town with its decayed democracy which sent Winston fumbling for self-expression on the western front. The newspaper publisher who fired him; the banker friend-of-the-family who denied him a promised job; the banker's son, a childhood friend, who snubbed Winston; the girl who married another for security; his mother, confused in the decline of what had been a promising life —all are here. In lightly sketched, but sharply drawn passages the human nuances of the American class struggle are portrayed.

Because of its brevity (only 233 pages) and the many things which the writer attempts to encompass, and because its prose lacks visual power, the novel is lacking in dramatic intensity. This story of "Peter Winston, 1917-1940. Born in the Last War and Died in This One . . ." is nonetheless a sincere, human, and positive statement against war.

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# Muggsy Spanier, Jazzman

## In the great tradition of Louis Armstrong and King Oliver, Muggsy leads hot music with his ›rnet. "Gentlemen, where are your ears?"

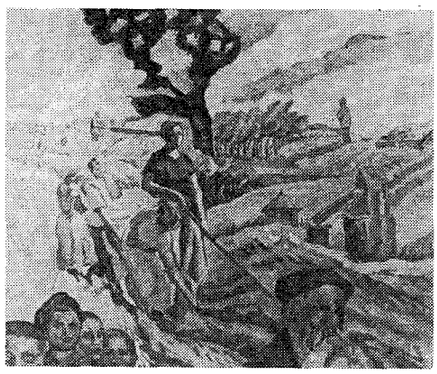
THERE have been many great jazz bands and players who were never recorded, or, if they were, improperly. attempt to study the early development of ,azz on phonograph records can be deceptive. The first hot records appeared about 1922, when a great cycle of Negro jazz in New Orleans was already ended. There are Bix's ·cords with the Wolverines in 1923-24, but e Wolverines lacked distinction as an en-nble and their style is full of tin pan alley ches. Louis Armstrong and Jelly Roll .orton appeared at their best early in the ·enties. But the record that opens the door ·1 the jazz style of Chicago, which in dilu-·ions and occasional survivals has become the ·ot music of today, is a two-minute version ›f *China Boy* made in 1926 by Charles Pierce's orchestra of Chicago.

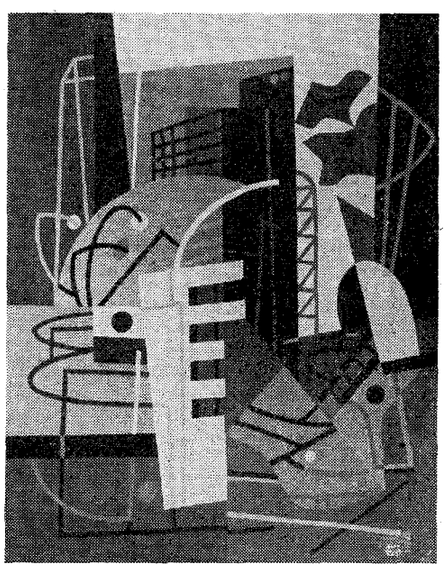
After a conventional, reedy saxophone ·horus in the manner of the Six Brown ·rothers, the muted cornet of Muggsy panier enters like the very blast from hell. Right at this point the history of "modern" jazz begins on records. Spanier's tight, bugle-like notes jump ahead of the beat and run circles around it and the band seems singed into action by Muggsy's explosive entrance.

Muggsy Spanier was one of the first Chi-agoans to play with the Negroes who came ›o North in the great exodus from Dixie during and after the war. From the first he was sure of the Negro style, and if any white man ever played as well as King Oliver and Louis it was their student, Muggsy. The essence of the Negro style of Louis and King Oliver (which runs back into relative antiquity to Freddy Keppard, Bunk Johnson, and Buddy Bolden in New Orleans in the nineties), is the bold, driving, *rhythmic* manner of playing. Such a player can play the unaccompanied cornet improvisations which one may find on the bravura introductions to many Armstrong records; the entrance of the rhythm section after a couple of bars seems actually to bog Louis' rhythm down. Muggsy has that gift of leading and driving a band more fetchingly than a drummer.

Spanier's skill with mutes is another Negro ·rait that few white players have adopted vithout becoming merely weird or cute. That's Muggsy's way of saying it, those ierce, bursting, muted notes that leap from is instrument in mad scalar progression.

Spanier's career has been extraordinarily ard, including several years of fight against ıberculosis in a New Orleans sanitarium ıd the ignominy of playing for years with 'ed Lewis' orchestra. I once had the painful xperience of seeing a Ted Lewis stage show : Loew's State in the hope that Muggsy could be heard over the din issuing from under the famous top hat. After what seemed hours of Lewis' aggressive familiarity, Muggsy was suffered to appear upstage with five men from the band. The paternal air with which Muggsy was introduced made it obvious that Lewis, out of the pure goodness of his heart, had picked this solemn youth out of the gutter and had taught him all he knew. Muggsy took it like a good soldier and wiped out Lewis' last sonorous period with a burst of famous jazz.





THE PAINTINGS *reproduced above are included in two current exhibitions in New York City. "Working for Old and Young" (top) by F. Horowitz, from the United American Artists' show at Rockefeller Center, was suggested by the artist's trip to the Soviet Union, where he painted a number of pictures of Jewish life. "World's Fair" by Ad Reinhardt is from the American Abstract Artists' exhibition at the American Fine Arts Galleries, 215 West 57th St.*

Muggsy's long, dour face squeezes up and his cheeks distend like a veteran glassblower's as he winds the cornet. His foot taps madly on the floor and the music is an American art. Muggsy will just say unh-huh to that and let it go, but what's art anyhow but somebody who just has to do it, and does it so marvelously for so many people, after such hardship? Muggsy is stern and monkish about jazz music and he jams right ahead, playing the old tunes like the magnificent *Bluin' the Blues* and *Eccentric* and *Riverboat Shuffle*, which will be played when the last faint trace of *The Singing Hills* is a hundred years dead. Muggsy's melodic sense (a factor in music that Louis never lets you forget) is something the New Orleans school always had. Melody in jazz is not so important as harmony and rhythm, but there is enough of it in Muggsy to make one want to ask the authors of *I Like to Recognize the Tune*, "Gentlemen, where are your ears?" Jazz requires certain ear training, in which respect it does not differ from most musical forms. Many people seem perpetually astonished that this music has musical qualities.

Muggsy's comeback after the sanitarium is providing a slew of good records. I have mentioned before the fine Bluebird series, which has had four new titles added, including *At Sundown, Bluin' the Blues*, and *Dinah*. There are also the concertos with Sidney Bechet on clarinet and soprano saxophone which have appeared on four twelve-inch Hot Record Society disks. Finally, the Commodore Music Shop has captured Muggsy and a group of notable jazzmen on an eighteen-minute jam session of *A Good Man Is Hard to Find*. Spanier has little to do, but his leading is evident throughout, with a fine nostalgic, arranged cornet duet with Max Kaminsky opening the third side. The Commodore records are not wholly successful, owing to an unimaginative series of solos by the picked-up personnel, including Joe Marsala on tenor saxophone instead of his usual clarinet. Danny Polo, who usually plays the sax, has the clarinet seat. Miff Mole, the noted oldtime trombonist of Red Nichols' Five Pennies groups, takes undistinguished solos, while Brad Gowans does better with the valve trombone.

Muggsy has just joined Bob Crosby's Dixieland Band in a shakeup that also brought in Floyd O'Brien, the modest and tasteful blues trombonist. Gil Rodin's band (Crosby is merely a decoration) is now easily the best big commercial hot outfit, and Muggsy's playing with the special eight-man group, the Bobcats, should keep your turntable merrily spinning.

JAMES DUGAN.

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Ad Reinhardt

# WHEREVER YOU GO THIS SUMMER . . .

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What's more, New Masses will give you an extra bit of fun—besides the usual supply of cartoons—with the truth. Ruth McKenney, for example, will be doing a regular column guaranteed to revive those heat-languid, summer-slumbering risibilities. Try a sample on page 12. On the more serious side, you will get, among other features, a first-hand account of the Republican and Democratic National Conventions by A. B. Magil.

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